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H. G. Gollermann.



A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
STIRLINGSHIRE;

CONTAINING

An Account of the Ancient Monuments, and most
Important and Curious Transactions in that Shire,
from the Roman Invasion of Scotland, to the Pre-
sent Times;

WITH THE

NATURAL HISTORY
OF THE SHIRE.

By WILLIAM NIMMO,
Minister of Bothkennar.

Illustrated with a large Map of the Shire, from an actual Survey.

Hic acies certare solebant.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for WILLIAM CREECH,
And sold by T. CADELL, *London*.

M,DCC,LXXVII.

GENERAL HISTORY

STIRLING

CONTAINING

An Account of the Ancient Monuments and
Antiquities and Curious Traditions
from the Records now in the
possession of the Town;

WITH

NATURAL HISTORY

OF THE SHIRE

BY WILLIAM NISBET

Minister of the Gospel

Illustrated with a large Map of the Shire

Printed by James Ballantyne

EDINBURGH

Printed by WILLIAM CRITCH

1825

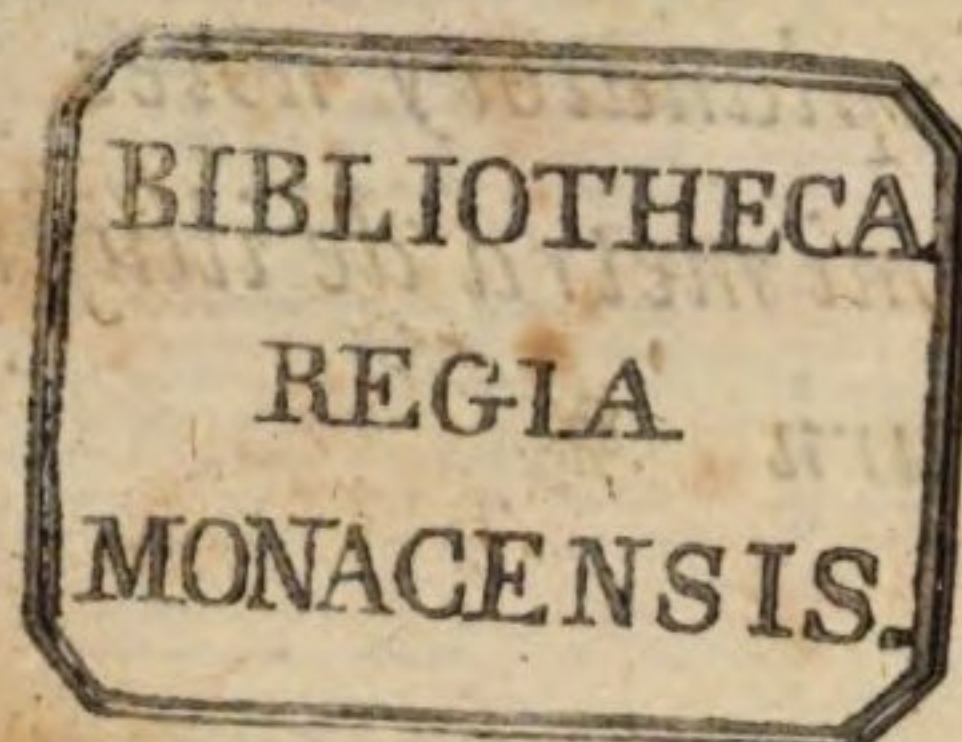
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A P P E N D I X.

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- No. II. *A list of the names of those, in the Shire of Stirling, who swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296, taken from Pryne, who extracted them from the Record, called Ragman-Roll, in the tower of London. To which is subjoined a translation from the original French, with a few historical and explanatory notes* 510
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Page 114. l. 8. *for* about 30 years ago, *read* in the year 1709. The above is the date of the purchase of Cambuskenneth, which was not found when the section relating to it was printed.



A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
STIRLINGSHIRE.

THE shire of Stirling, in consequence of its situation upon the isthmus between the friths of Forth and Clyde, and in the direct passage from the northern to the southern parts of the island, hath been the scene of many memorable transactions. There are few shires in Scotland where monuments of antiquity are so frequently to be met with; neither does it yield to any in point of modern improvements, especially those which tend to the advancement of commerce and manufactures. An account of the most remarkable transactions, which have happened in that shire, from the Roman

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man invasion of Scotland, to the present times, may not prove an unacceptable entertainment to the curious, and may tend to preserve the memory of the more ancient, when, by the devastations of time, and the improvements of agriculture, those monuments of them, which yet remain, can be seen no more.

S E C T. I.

The Forts of AGRICOLA.

A Few of those simple structures which are generally considered as monuments of Druidical worship, are discernible in this shire. But a description of them would convey small entertainment, and still smaller instruction, as it could cast no new light upon that ancient and once extensive mode of heathen religion.

Mr Gordon, author of the *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, observed some ruins at Easter-Bankier, in the neighbourhood of Castlecary,
and

and upon Cowden-hill near Bonny-bridge, which he conjectured to have been the foundations of two ancient towns; but the traces of them are now become so faint, as not easily to be discerned.

The first monuments, concerning the antiquity and original design of which we can attain to any degree of certainty, are the ruins of the praefidia, or forts, built, about eighty years after the birth of Jesus Christ, by Julius Agricola, who was the first that led a Roman army into these northern parts. Tacitus, in his life of that General, informs us, that, in his fourth campaign, he erected forts upon the narrow isthmus between the friths of Glota and Bodotria, that is, Clyde and Forth, with an intention to secure his conquests upon the south, and to confine the natives of the country as within another island. These forts appear to have been erected in the same tract where Lollius Urbicus afterwards raised the wall, which now goes by the name of Graham's dike. No vestiges of such works are to be seen in any other part of that isthmus; and, that those fabricks we are going to mention, were built
in

in a more early period than the wall, is highly probable from the following circumstance, that the wall does not always run in a straight course, but often fetches a compass, and leaves more advantageous ground, with no other apparent view than that of coming up to some of them.

The ruins of these praefidia are still, for the most part, visible alongst the tract of the wall, and generally at the distance of two miles from each other. Little more, indeed, remains at present to distinguish the spots, where even the largest of them stood, than the vestiges of the outer ditches and ramparts, appearing amidst confused heaps of rubbish. We need not, however, be surpris'd at finding buildings which were reared up in haste, and only for a temporary use, crumbled into dust, when the rage of time hath often, in a shorter space, demolished the most stately fabricks, which were originally designed for a long duration, and, in the erection of which, all the art of architecture was employed. Lucan's prediction hath been literally fulfilled in capital cities, the ruins of which are so far lost, that geographers

graphers are not able to determine exactly the spots where they once stood.

————Gabios, Veiosque, Coramque
 Pulvere vix tectae poterunt monstrare ruinae,
 Albanosque lares, Laurentinosque penates,
 Rus vacuum, quod non habitet, nisi nocte coacta
 Invitus *————

The Veian and the Gabian tow'rs shall fall,
 And one promiscuous ruin cover all;
 Nor, after length of years, a stone betray
 The place where once the very ruins lay:
 High Alba's walls, and the Lavinian strand,
 (A lonely desert and an empty land),
 Shall scarce afford, for needful hours of rest,
 A single house to their benighted guest.

Two of those stations are in the shire of Stirling; one of which is called *Castlecary*, the other *Roughcastle*.

Castlecary, which is the largest and most entire, is situated four miles westward from the town of Falkirk, and just upon the borders of Stirlingshire, where it joins to that of Dumbarton; it stands upon high ground, as those stations generally do, and commands

* Lucan. Pharsal. l. vii.

mands an extensive prospect to the north and east; it comprehends several acres of ground, is of a square form, and surrounded with a wall of stone and mortar: The whole space within the walls has been occupied by buildings, the ruins of which having raised the earth eight or ten feet above its natural surface, have given to the fort the resemblance of a hill-top, surrounded with a sunk fence; the rubbish above the stones hath often been plowed, and yields tolerable crops, except about the middle, where it is all overgrown with nut bushes and briars.

In 1770, workmen were employed to search amongst the ruins for stones for the use of the great canal, which passes near it. Having removed the rubbish, they discovered sundry apartments built with stone and lime, and, in one of them, a number of stones standing erect, and about two feet in length, with plain marks of fire upon them. They appeared as having been designed to support some sort of vessel under which fire was put; but, whether the place had been once a Roman balneum, or what particular purpose it had served, we do not pretend to determine.

determine. In the middle of the station, where the Praetorium stood, large ruins were also discovered; but the men, not finding stones for their purpose, soon gave over digging.

The outer wall of the fort hath been surrounded with a double ditch or vallum, which is still filled with water upon the south side, where the entry hath been by a large causeway intersecting the ditch. Upon the west is a steep descent into a glen, through which a rivulet runs; and, on the north, lies a low and barren muir, where is a free-stone quarry, out of which the stones of the fort have been digged, as appears from their being of the same grain. In August 1771, as workmen were quarrying stones in that muir for the use of the canal, they came upon a large hollow in the rock, in which they found a considerable quantity of wheat, as also some iron wedges and hammers, supposed to be Roman. Whether the wheat had been laid up there for the use of the Roman garrison, or had been hid, during some war in later times, cannot now be known. Much of the grain was tolerably
firm,

firm, and the whole of it perfectly black ; but, whether it had been parched, or had contracted that colour by being so long shut up from the air, in a damp place, is also uncertain.

At Bankier, opposite to Castlecary, upon the north, Mr Gordon discovered the ruins of a circular fortification ; no vestiges of which are now discernible, the spot upon which it stood being planted with trees. In the same neighbourhood, he also discovered fundry other ruins ; some of them so extensive, as to induce him to think that a town had once stood in these parts ; but, to inquire whether these had been appendages of the Roman works, or the habitations of the natives of the country, would be stepping aside into the dark and barren regions of conjecture, the borders of which we intend to approach as seldom as possible.

Roughcastle stands two miles eastward of Castlecary, in the midst of a high and barren muir ; though all overgrown with heath, from whence it probably derives the present name, yet the form of it, which is square, is quite distinct ; but nothing remarkable is to be

be seen amongst the ruins of this station; it hath been surrounded with a double ditch and a wall of earth. Mr Gordon observed the foundations of a free-stone wall; but there is not at present any appearance of stone-work about it, except in the middle where the prætorium stood, the stones having been carried off to build houses in the neighbourhood. The ramparts of this station appear never to have been equal to those of Castlecary in height and strength; and its dimensions are not above a fourth part of the other. In a low and marshy piece of ground, adjoining to the fort upon the west, are two or three ditches running parallel to one another, the design of which we cannot understand, unless it was to hold water, which might have been conveyed into them from a small rivulet that runs within a few yards of the place.

To the eastward of Roughcastle no vestiges of any stations are at present discernible, except some obscure traces at Inneraven, near Kinniel in the shire of Linlithgow or Mid-Lothian; though it is not improbable, that one is buried in the town of

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Falkirk;

Falkirk; at least the ordinary distances lead us to suppose that one might have been there, and another not far from Polmont. About half way, however, between Rough-castle and Falkirk, and a quarter of a mile off the line of the wall, are very plain ruins of a strong fortification or camp, which go by the name of Camelon. Buchanan says, that, in his time, this place resembled the ruins of a moderate city, and that the ditches, walls, and streets were visible, though most of the stones had been carried off to build houses in the neighbourhood. Some remains of the ramparts, which have been exceeding strong, are still to be seen, as also the causeway or military road, which passes through it, and which Buchanan probably took for a street. It is, at this distance of time, impossible to know what the original dimensions of this station have been; for all the ground around it, and even within the ramparts, hath been long in constant tillage; but, from the stones and rubbish dug up in different places, there is reason to conclude, that the Roman works here have been of considerable extent. At

a good distance from the present remains of the ramparts, stones of Roman workmanship have been found, and many of them with characters, which appeared to be the initials of names. A few years ago two, nicely cut and carved, were discovered, which are now built up in the front of a dwelling-house in the village of New Camelon, which hath lately been reared up a little to the eastward of the old station.

This place hath been mistaken by Hector Boetius and others, for the Camulodunum of Tacitus, which is now universally agreed to have been St Malden in Essex. As the first named author delights in the marvellous, he makes it a place of great strength, and the capital of the British Empire. The many wonderful stories still current among the vulgar concerning this place, have probably taken their rise from his account. Abernethy is, with much greater probability, supposed to have been the capital of the Scots than Camelon, which lay only upon the skirts of their kingdom. There appears no satisfying evidence of ~~there~~ ever having been any considerable

considerable town in this spot, except a Roman station, with its appendages; though it is not improbable that, after the departure of that people, it was inhabited by the natives of the country, and modelled by them for their own accommodation, so as to give it the form of a village. As the old Britons usually distinguished the places where Roman camps had been, by the name of *Caer**, that word signifying in their

* Those places which have the word *Car* or *Caer* affixed to their names, are generally situated in the neighbourhood of Roman camps, or some other work of that people. Few of them are found northward of the wall of Antoninus, which was the boundary of the Roman dominion; whereas, upon the south of it, they are very frequent; as Carlisle in Cumberland, Caerlaverock in Dumfries-shire, Caerchapel, Carnwath, Caermichael, Carstairs, Carluke, in Clydesdale; Carmendean, Carrubber, Carriden, in Linlithgowshire. All these are either situated near the Roman walls or causeways, or have vestiges of camps, or other works of that people, at no great distance from them. Parish churches are often erected near them, and take their names from them. It cannot be determined whether this might be owing to any thing particularly commodious in their situation, or if, in superstitious ages, it might be looked upon as a fort

their language a fortified place or castle ; so a village and some farm-houses in this neighbourhood, still go by the name of *Caer-muir*s. According to tradition, the stones of the church, and of other old buildings in the town of Falkirk, were brought from *Camelon*, the ruins of which are now so far disfigured, as to consist only of rubbish, with a few yards of the earthen aggers, that formed the northern and southern ramparts.

The stones dug up amongst the ruins of *Castlecary* and *Camelon*, are generally of a much smaller size than those which compose the Gothic, or more modern buildings ; and many of them are of a triangular form ; but they have been strongly cemented with mortar, in which the strength of the Roman structures seems chiefly to have consisted.

Camelon was probably one of the forts erected by *Agricola* ; and, though not upon

fort of triumph over heathen idolatry, to erect places of Christian worship in the same spots where its rites had been celebrated,

on a direct line with the rest, yet its situation in a large and pleasant plain, and upon the banks of Carron, and in a place too where that river takes a compass, so as to surround it upon all sides, except the south, was certainly very advantageous. It is plain too, from the track of the old channel, which is still visible, that the river, upon the north-east, ran a good deal nearer to the station than it does at present.

Whether those stations ended at Camelon, or were continued farther eastward, is uncertain. As the situation of the place commands a prospect to the frith, and the low grounds on both sides of Carron, which are now so fertile, were probably at that time in an undrained state, and not easily passable, there appears to have been less occasion for a praesidium in that quarter. There is likewise reason to believe, that the frith of Forth flowed considerably farther west, in former ages, than it does at present.

It is not improbable that Agricola set out from the camp at Camelon, when he marched to the passage of the Forth, and the invasion of Caledonia, in his sixth campaign; and

and we may suppose it to have been also occupied by the Roman armies in the subsequent expeditions of Severus and Caracalla; for it appears to have been the largest and most commodious of the *castra stativa*, which they possessed upon the southside of that river, as that of Ardoch was upon the north; and, after their fleet had found the way into the frith, provisions could be brought up the river Carron by small craft, and landed within a little of this station; to which tradition gives its countenance, when it speaks of anchors having been found in the neighbourhood, and some of them within the memory of people yet alive.

Not many years ago, a small tumulus, resembling a Roman *speculatorium* or watch-tower, and much of the same form and dimensions with those upon the wall of Antoninus, stood upon a rising ground at the east end of the village of Larbert; but is now demolished by the great road from Stirling, which stretches that way. That mount, if it was of so high antiquity, might, though it stood upon the other side of the river, be an advanced post, or a centinel's

tinel's turret, while the camp lay at Camelon.

These praesidia must have been very little occupied by the Romans; for, after the departure of Agricola, they abandoned all their conquests in Scotland, and seem, for some time, to have had very little footing in the island of Britain. It does not appear that there were any Roman forces in Scotland from that time, except in the southern parts of it, in the reign of Adrian, until the arrival of Lollius Urbicus, in the reign of Antoninus, which was a period of fifty years. Agricola usually led his army into England for winter-quarters; and we can hardly suppose that he left garrisons in his praesidia, during the two winters he continued in the island after their erection. Except in three or four of them, there is scarce, throughout the whole tract, any appearance of stone-buildings, nor of any conveniences for accommodating soldiers in winter, and some of them could not have been very commodious stations even in summer. We find no inscriptions upon any of them, except what belong to the reign of Antoninus;

nus; and, if they were planted with garrisons after the wall was built in his reign, it must have been only for a short time; for, soon after, the Romans again lost all this part of the island, till the time of Severus, who, after an unsuccessful expedition into Caledonia, found it necessary to relinquish the wall of Antoninus, and fix the boundary of the empire by a new wall in the north of England.

In fine, we are tempted to think, that those works we have been surveying were never intended for any great or lasting use. Notwithstanding all the parade which Tacitus makes, when he speaks of his father-in-law's transactions, we cannot see how such feeble barriers could secure the Roman conquests, so that it could be said, with any sort of propriety, that the isthmus *praesidiis firmabatur*; this is the expression that historian useth. What effect could a few fortifications of earth, as most of those were, and placed at the distance of two miles from each other, have to repel so brave a people as the ancient Caledonians appear to have been? We cannot help being of opi-

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nion,

nion, that, in the erection of them, Agricola exhibited a stronger instance of Roman vanity, than of military policy, unless his chief design was to find exercise for his legions, as Tacitus mentions no other work in which they were employed all that summer.

S E C T. II.

The Roman Causeway, or Military Road.

THOSE high-ways, which the Romans made throughout every part of their great empire, may be ranked amongst the most stupendous of their works. If they were not the first who thought on these public conveniencies, they were more attentive to them than any nation before or after them ever was. When their state was yet in its infancy, and their territories reached no farther than Capua, the censor Appius Claudius rendered himself famous by forming that public road, which is to be seen in
Italy

Italy to this day, and from him is still called the Appian way. As their empire enlarged, they never neglected to continue this branch of improvement; but, extending their roads with their conquests, they connected the most distant provinces with the metropolis. When we cast our eye upon Antonine's Itinerary, or Peutinger's table, and take a view of the public ways, and bye-ways striking off from them to the several towns and stations in every province, the face of the globe appears as manufactured anew; and, we may safely affirm, that more labour hath been bestowed upon those roads, than would have been sufficient to have twice built and embellished the city of Rome, even in the time of its greatest extent and grandeur. We must also observe, that, besides the conveniencies and advantages derived from those roads, another reason contributed not a little to increase their number beyond what was absolutely necessary. By employing their armies in such works in the time of peace, the Romans prevented, in a good degree, the bad consequences of military inactivity; a piece of policy

policy to which that people were always attentive, as they dreaded idleness in their own troops more than they did an enemy.

In England, the remains of those works are every where to be met with, there being few ancient towns in that part of the island, which have not a Roman road in their neighbourhood; and, though we cannot expect them so frequently in Scotland, which lay without the bounds of the provinces, yet there also they are still to be seen in many places, and are the grandest monuments which remain of that people, in the northern parts of the island.

A Roman high-way, nothing inferior to those within Provincial Britain, runs a great way into Scotland; it can be traced with certainty as far as the Grampian mountains; and even beyond them, we are told, something like vestiges of it are to be observed. Leaving England at Solway-frith, it passes through Annandale and Clydesdale to the neighbourhood of Glasgow; it runs parallel to the river Annan, to its source in the heights northward of Moffat; and, soon after falling in with the head of Clyde, it
generally

generally follows the course of that river, seldom departing to any great distance from its banks. From the neighbourhood of Glasgow, it takes a direction eastward, across the isthmus, between the friths of Forth and Clyde, alongst the same tract where the forts of Agricola and the wall of Antoninus stood.

In Stirlingshire, this road goes by the name of Camelon causeway, deriving it from the principal station in those bounds. It enters upon that shire at Castlecary fort, passing close by the southern ramparts thereof; from thence it runs eastward, in as straight a course as the irregularity of the ground will admit, by Dikehouse, the wood and mansion-house of Sea-begs, Elf-hills, and Roughcastle; and is, in several places, used as a road even at this day. Half a mile eastward of Roughcastle, it crosses the wall of Antoninus or Graham's-dike, in which an opening hath been left for its passage. Near the wall, its appearance is but faint; in a little, however, it rises quite entire, and runs northward through some marshy ground and a plowed field, till it comes

comes up to the ancient station of Camelon, through the midst of which it passes, holding on to the river Carron. Between the wall and Camelon it is now intersected, both by the canal, and the public road from Falkirk to Glasgow. From Camelon to the river, scarce any vestige of it is to be discerned, the fields having been in tillage from time immemorial. The place where it had crossed Carron is now a frightful precipice; but the steep banks upon the south-side appear plainly to have been sloped, and the rock at the water-brink to have been cut. No vestige of any bridge was observed till summer 1773, when workmen, employed by the Carron company to make a reservoir for the use of their works in that very part of the river, dug up several of the foundation-stones; but, whether an arch of stone had been thrown over the river, or the bridge had consisted only of wooden beams, supported by stone pillars, is quite uncertain. After the road hath got free of the river, it appears again upon a rising ground, a little westward of the church of Larbert, and holds on in a straight

straight course by Torwood-head, Drafyl, Plean-muir, Upper-Bannock-burn, the villages of Mill-town and St Ninians, and the town of Stirling. When it hath reached that town, in the environs of which every vestige of it is entirely lost amidst houses, inclosures, and well cultivated fields, it takes a direction westward to a ford, called the *Drip*, near Craig-forth. Whether it had fetched a compass around the hill upon which the town is built, or had passed over it, and descended the sloping path, called Ballochgeich, upon the northside of the castle, is uncertain; but half a mile westward of the castle, and not far from a place called Kildean, very plain traces of it are discernible at a farm-house, which, together with its offices and yards, is situated upon the very summit thereof. The peculiar form, and regular dimensions, together with the straight course, easily distinguish it from other causeways. Nearer to the *Drip* too, its foundations have been lately digged up; the ford hath a firm and solid bottom, and, during the summer season, little above two feet of water. There was no occasion for a
bridge

bridge to transport the hardy sons of Rome, whom much more stately rivers did not intimidate from their darling project of subduing and plundering the world. From the *Drip*, the road turned northward by Keir to Dumblane, where it again makes its appearance, holding on to Strathern. The distance from Castlecary to Craigforth, following the Roman tract, is near twelve Scots miles.

In the course of the last eighteen or twenty years, this road hath, in many places, been dug up and demolished, to make way for the more useful improvements of agriculture. It is still to be seen quite entire between Castlecary and Camelon, upon the south of Torwood-head, and in the muir of Plean; the grounds in those parts, having never been cultivated, have preserved its form, except in marshy places, where it hath sunk by its own weight. Though all grown over with grass, and sometimes with heath, yet its uniform breadth, straight course, and gradual descent upon each side, cannot but strike the eye of the observer. In twenty years time, probably, few vestiges

ges of it will remain ; it must yield to more useful improvements ; but green fields and yellow harvests will afford a much more delightful prospect to every eye, than those works of Rome, even in their full perfection, could ever have done.

As to the form and construction of this road, great pains have been taken to render it firm and durable ; but we cannot admire the elegance of the workmanship, nor prevail upon ourselves to think, that it hath ever been very commodious for travelling upon. It consists of several layers of stone and earth, which seem to have been thrown upon one another, just as they came to hand ; for the stones are of all dimensions. It is generally about twelve feet in breadth, and its foundations are so deep, that, in the formation of it, they seem first to have digged a ditch, which they filled up again with stones and earth, in the careless manner that hath been mentioned, till they had raised it at least a foot above the natural surface. It always rises in the middle, and slopes towards the edges ; and, on each side, especially where the ground is wet, there

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hath

hath been a small ditch or drain, to keep the work dry; so that, at present, when it is all covered with grass, it hath much the resemblance of a ridge that hath lain long unplowed. The stones of the uppermost layer are generally of so large a size, that, unless it was always well covered with gravel, it must have been very inconvenient for travelling upon, and the legions could neither march with ease nor expedition. Its direction is as straight as the nature of the ground through which it passes will admit; and the track of it would be a much shorter road from Falkirk to Stirling, than the present winding high-way.

This road was, in all probability, the work of Agricola; and that part of it which runs across the isthmus appears to be coeval with his forts. These must have been useless without a communication with one another, which, in many places, was almost impossible without such a road. There is reason too to conclude, that it was a more early work than the wall of Antoninus, from this circumstance, that that wall often leaves more advantageous ground, with

with no other apparent view, than to keep the road always in its neighbourhood. There is, indeed, no accounting for many circumflexions in the wall, unless they were with a view to the military road, and the forts of Agricola.

As the itinerary of Antoninus reaches no farther northward than the friths of Tweed and Solway, we cannot from thence derive any assistance to enable us to determine, whether the different stages and distances were marked out upon the military road in Scotland, with the same precision as in provincial Britain, and other parts of the empire. It is, however, certain, that the Romans had measured, with much exactness, the breadth of the isthmus between the friths of Forth and Clyde. This is evident from the situation of the forts at regular distances, and also from inscriptions upon stones found in sundry parts of Graham's dike, which expressly mention the number of miles executed by the different divisions of the army employed in that work. We may well suppose, that a people, whose attention and care descended to the minutest circumstances,

stances, did not neglect an exact mensuration of their roads, even to their farthest extremities.

There is an expression in the account that Tacitus gives of the sixth campaign of Agricola, which seems to imply, that the rout the army was to hold in their march, had been distinctly settled before they set out, which could not be done without some stated road, in a country so full of woods and marshes. Speaking of that general's preparations for the invasion of Caledonia, he says, that he sent the fleet before him to reconnoitre the coasts, and proceeded in his march with great caution, *quia itinera timebantur*. The word *iter*, in the military style of that people, often signifies the march of an army alongst a stated high way : From the same word, the *Itinerarium* of Antoninus, which marks out so many different routs, derives its name.

Tacitus mentions no other work, in which the army of Agricola were employed during their fourth campaign, except the erection of the praesidia across the isthmus ; and, as they consisted of three legions, besides the auxili-

auxiliaries, it could be no laborious task to finish both these and the military road in the space of one summer.

In those times, and even much later, the greatest part of Stirlingshire was covered with woods, many vestiges of which remain to this day. The Roman historians often speak of forests which the armies of that people had to cut down, and marshes which they had to drain, or make roads through, in their marches towards Caledonia; and, if the speech which Tacitus puts into the mouth of Galgacus, before the battle at mount Grampius, be genuine, it appears, that they employed not only their own soldiers in this work, but compelled, with much rigour, such of the natives as fell into their hands, to labour in them :
 ‘ Corpora ipsa ac manus, filvis ac paludibus
 ‘ emuniendis, verbera inter ac contumelias
 ‘ conterunt.’

It casts a damp upon our spirits, when we reflect, that those works we are surveying, are the remains of an all-grasping, rapacious nation, who, in the very original, and whole progress of their state, were animated

mated by a malicious passion to pillage and enslave the rest of mankind, in the gratification of which, they were uncommonly successful.

After the wall of Antoninus was built, the military road was carried on eastward to the frith of Forth, where that wall terminated; vestiges of it are discernible in fundry places, as far as the wall goes.

S E C T. III.

The Wall of ANTONINUS, or GRAHAM'S Dike.

USURPATION being subject to perpetual jealousies and alarms, is obliged to provide for its own defence against those whom it hath injured. The Romans adopted different methods to maintain their unjust acquisitions against the attempts which the conquered might make to regain their former possessions; they sometimes raised extensive ramparts of earth and stone in the farthest extremities of their conquests, where

where nature had not made a separation by mountains, rivers, or seas, between their dominions and those nations, whom their power was not able to reach, or retain under subjection; with this view, three walls have, at different periods, been drawn across the island of Britain.

The first was raised about the year 120, by the Emperor Adrian, who was at that time in the island in person; and who, according to Spartian, ordered works of the same kind to be raised, as boundaries to the empire, in other countries, as well as in this. That wall extended from Solway frith to the river Tine; and the remains of it are still to be seen in the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland.

The second of these walls was erected in the reign of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, about the year 140, and ran across the isthmus between the friths of Forth and Clyde.

The third was the work of the Emperor Severus, about the year 210. This was the strongest and most perfect of all those works; for it was fenced with stone, and fortified with towers at regular distances; whereas,
the

the two first consisted chiefly of earth. It followed much the same track with that of Adrian. The remains of both are yet visible, running parallel to each other through the counties already mentioned.

The second of these walls is the subject of the present survey. Capitolinus, speaking of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, saith, 'He subdued the Britons by Lollius Urbicus his legate or lieutenant, and removed the barbarians farther off by another wall of turf drawn across the island.' By calling this another wall of turf, the historian refers to a more early work of a similar nature, which had been executed in the island, and in a more southerly situation. That could be no other than the wall of Adrian, which had been raised about twenty years before.

Herodian too, expressly intimates, that more walls than one had been raised in Britain, before the reign of Severus; for, speaking of that Emperor's expedition into the northern parts of the island, he says, 'the army passed over friths, and the ramparts

* parts which had been thrown up as boundaries and fences to the empire *.

A great ditch, with a wall of earth upon the brink of it, extended from the river Clyde to the frith of Forth, through the shires of Dumbarton, Stirling, and part of West Lothian, the remains of which are yet perfectly discernible. Buchanan calls this the wall of Severus; and Bede is of opinion, that it was raised by the Romans, a little before they abandoned the island in the beginning of the fifth century, to defend the Britons against the inroads of the Scots. But, that it is the same wall mentioned by Capitolinus, as the work of Lollius Urbicus, in the reign of Antoninus, will not, at present, admit of any doubt. Several stones have been discovered, in different parts of it, with the name of Antoninus, and others, with that of Lollius Urbicus upon them: We have heard of none that refer to any other reign. Many of those stones are in the possession of the college of Glasgow.

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* Herodian, lib. 3, cap. 48.

This wall is carried across the isthmus from sea to sea, and mostly along the northern brow of hills. It does not always run in a straight course, but often fetches a compass, and that sometimes with a view to the high grounds; at other times, with no other apparent view than to fall in with the forts, which had been erected by Agricola alongst the same track about fifty years before.

This work consists of an earthen wall, and a ditch or *vallum*; the breadth of the ditch varies; it is generally from twelve to fifteen feet; though Mr Gordon says, that, in some places, it measures forty feet, and in others about sixty. The earth, which was dugged out of the ditch, being thrown upon the south brink, forms the *agger* or wall. The structure of the wall is mostly of earth, as Capitolinus says that of Antoninus was, only, in wet and marshy grounds, a *stratum* of stones hath been discovered in the foundation; in fundry places too, there is the appearance of stones built up on the outside, in the manner of a sunk fence. In parts where the ground is low, the ditch is still full of water;

water ; but, where it takes its course over hills, it must always have been dry. It constantly keeps parallel to the military road or causeway, which is supposed to have been a more early work, seldom leaving it above the distance of fifty yards. Between the forts, artificial mounts, which are thought to have been exploratory towers, are still visible in fundry places ; but they are neither all of the same dimensions nor materials, some of them consisting wholly of earth, others having a good deal of stone. Conduits have also been discovered beneath the wall, which have been designed to keep it dry, or to convey water into the ditch. How it was conducted over the many rivulets that intercept its course, cannot now be known. No vestiges of arches any where remain.

The Romans frequently strengthened their earthen walls with palisadoes, or stakes driven into the ground. If that was done here, the country around, being a forest, could easily furnish materials for the purpose.

From stones that have been dug up in fundry places, we learn, that a considerable
part

part of this work was executed by the Legio Secunda Augusta : Cohorts and vexillations of other legions are also mentioned in inscriptions. Though it extended near thirty miles, yet it could easily have been finished in much less than one summer. The Roman armies threw up intrenchments with an uncommon celerity, being accustomed to fortify their camps every night in their marches through an enemy's country. Julius Caesar, with one legion, drew a wall from the lake of Geneva to Mount Jura, nineteen miles in extent, sixteen feet high, with a deep ditch, and also fortified it with castles at proper distances, in the space of less than two weeks ; for he did not leave Rome till the end of March, and, before the Ides, or thirteenth of April, the work was compleated *. Thus, if the whole Legio Secunda Augusta was employed in the erection of our wall, besides cohorts and vexillations of other legions, it might have been intirely finished in the space of one month, though their progress had not been so rapid as that of Caesar.

Historians

* Caesar. bell. Gall. lib. 1.

Historians speak of reparations which this wall hath undergone at different times. The first was towards the end of the third century, by Carausius, who is commonly distinguished by the title of an Usurper; the second in the fourth century, during the reign of Valentinian. At that time, Theodosius, father to the emperor of the same name, was sent into Britain to repel an incursion of the Scots and Picts, who had committed dreadful ravages in the province. Upon his arrival, they retired beyond the friths; and, in order to restrain them from a new incursion, he repaired the forts upon the isthmus, and planted garrisons in them to watch that frontier: By this means, all the country between the walls of Adrian and Antoninus, which had for some time been held by these northern nations, was recovered. Of this tract Theodosius made a fifth province, to which the emperor gave the name of Valentia, probably from his brother Valens *. The stone-buildings at Castlecary, Camelon, and other parts of the wall,

* Ammian. Marcell. lib. 28.

wall, are perhaps the ruins of those works of Theodosius. The third reparation of the wall was in the beginning of the fifth century, by the united labours of the Romans and Britons, who at the same time fortified it with a strong palisadoe *. This last reparation seems to have been mistaken by Bede for the first erection of it.

Many stories are current amongst the vulgar relating to this wall ; one of which is, that there was an hollow in it, through which the sound of a trumpet, blown at one end, could be conveyed to the other. The same tradition is handed about in the north of England concerning the wall of Severus. If any meaning can be extracted from so ridiculous a tale, it must be this, that, when the enemy appeared, the alarm could be quickly conveyed, by sound of trumpet, from station to station, and from tower to tower, in order to draw the detached parties to the place where an assault was apprehended ; though there is reason to believe, that the wall was seldom so well garrisoned

* Bede, lib. i.

garrisoned as that this expedient could be put in practice.

This work is supposed to be mentioned in the poetical compositions of the bard Ossian, who speaks of the King of the world looking over his gathered heap; and, in the neighbourhood thereof, Fingal the father, and Oscar the son of Ossian, are thought to have performed several of their heroic exploits.

With respect to the modern name, Graham's dike, by which it now goes, we can offer nothing with certainty. Graham is a surname very numerous, and of great antiquity, in Scotland. A distinct and powerful clan of that name is mentioned, as possessing a considerable territory upon the borders of the two kingdoms, so late as the days of Edward VI. All our historians mention a chieftain of that name, who, in the fifth century, broke through this wall, and made dreadful havock amongst the Britons, who were now abandoned by their friends the Romans; and, as other conquerors sometimes received names from the countries they had subdued, this renowned warrior is said to have given his to a
work

work which he destroyed. Several of these authors have handed down another transaction, which is as likely to have given rise to the name of Graham's dike, though we have never seen it taken notice of by antiquaries in connection with the subject we are upon. In the reign of Malcolm II. near the end of the tenth century, one Grimus, or Gryme, a relation of the royal family, aspiring to the crown, raised a considerable army to accomplish his design. Malcolm marched at the head of his troops to give him battle. The two armies encamped, in view of each other, upon opposite sides of the Forth, not far from Stirling. An accommodation of a very singular nature was brought about, without any bloodshed, by the influence of Fothadus, bishop of St Andrew's, a man highly reputed in both armies, on account of his sanctity. The terms of accommodation, say our authors, were, that the kingdom should be divided between Malcolm and Gryme during the life of the latter; that, at his death, the whole should be possessed by Malcolm; and, that the wall between Forth
and

and Clyde should be the boundary of their respective dominions, Malcolm occupying what lay upon the south of that wall, and Gryme the northern parts *.

It is now time to set out upon a survey of this wall in its passage through the shire of Stirling. Upon leaving the shire of Dumbarton, it crosses a small rivulet, and, ascending a rising ground, soon comes up to Castlecary fort, falling in with the northern rampart thereof; from thence it runs along the brow of a hill, till it arrives at a place called *Dyke-house*, which hath its name from a few cottages that are there built upon the summit of the wall. At the same place the ditch is cut through a rock; and, upon the northern brink, stands a small mount, which is supposed to have been an exploratory tower. Next, the wall passes on, through some level ground, where the ditch is now filled with water, till it enters the wood of Sea-begs, near to which the canal, which generally runs parallel to it, falling in with it, hath occasioned some part to be demolished. Having got clear of the

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* Boet. lib. 9. Buchan lib. 6.

wood, it passes by the mansion-house of Sea-begs ; a little eastward of which, upon the north brink of the ditch, stands a beautiful exploratory mount of earth, about seven or eight feet in height, and surrounded at the top with a parapet of earth, which is still breast high. Near this mount, Mr Gordon found several pieces of iron and lead-ore, from whence he conjectured, that the Romans had had a foundery there. Next we come to Elf-hill, which is a rocky mount in a barren muir, upon the south side of the wall ; this is said to have been the place where Graham broke in upon it * ; and the present appearance of both wall and ditch is no way unfavourable to the tradition ; for, though the grounds around have never undergone any culture, the wall is low, and the ditch almost filled up ; but, after all, this may be accounted for from the nature of the soil, which is wet and marshy. Near Elf-hill, upon the north side of the wall, stands a green hill, called *Cowden-hill*, upon which Graham is said to have encamped

* Horsley's *Britannia Romana*.

ed the night before the attack. On this eminence Mr Gordon discovered some ruins and terraces of earth, from whence he conjectured, that the place had been the situation of an antient town. Often hath the antiquary excited the ridicule of the rest of mankind by ascribing importance to the most trivial objects, and antiquity to works of a recent date. Those levelled spots which, in the eye of Mr Gordon, resembled terraces, are common in many places, especially upon arable hills, which are naturally steep; and, as the ridges always terminate upon them, they appear to have been formed with no other design than to afford a convenient place for turning the plow upon the declivity.

When we have left Elf-hill, we soon arrive at Roughcastle fort, where, for a good way, the wall, ditch, and causeway, passing through a track of uncultivated ground, make as striking an appearance as they do any where, and are perhaps as perfect and intire as ever; only we must make considerable allowances for the natural sinking of the agger, and the filling up of the vallum
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in the course of so many ages. A little eastward of Roughcastle, that branch of the military road which goeth towards Stirling crosses the wall, in which an opening hath been left for its passage. We go on by Glenfuir and Bantaskine till we arrive at the town of Falkirk. If the forts or stations were regularly carried on to the east end of the wall, this was the proper place for one, being two miles from Roughcastle. But, instead of the wall and its appendages, which passed by the south side of the town, we meet with beautiful gardens, and well cultivated fields, which afford a much more delightful prospect. Setting out from Falkirk, we soon arrive at Callendar-house, where both wall and ditch appear pretty intire for a good way; from thence it holds on to the new village of Merchistown, where the ground, formerly occupied by it, is now converted into gardens, though all the industry of the gardener has not yet been able to erase the foundations of the military causeway, which still continues to discover its track by the barrenness of the productions which grow upon it. This is no doubt owing to
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the mixture of stones and gravel with the soil below, which, by giving it a porous quality, renders it incapable of retaining the moisture necessary for the nourishment of vegetables, especially in fields naturally dry and sandy. From Merchistown, the wall continues its course to a place called the Mumrills, which lies at a proper distance from Falkirk for another station; no traces, however, of any are visible, but many stones of Roman workmanship have been dug up in an adjacent field upon the south; and the wall at Merchistown, all of a sudden, leaving higher and more advantageous ground, takes a compass northward, with no other apparent view than to fall in with this place. Mr Gordon too observes, that broken urns, and Roman vessels, made of red earth, have been found here. Leaving the Mumrills, the wall goes on to Beencrofs, where it passes through the lowest ground in its whole course; then it ascends a hill to Polmont-kirk, which stands upon its summit, and from thence holds on through a track of irregular and broken ground, till it arrives at the water
of

of Avon, which it crosses at a place called the Ravon, or Inneravon, and enters West Lothian, or the shire of Linlithgow, where it terminated probably near Carridden. The distance from Castlecary to the water of Avon is about eight Scots miles.

The work we have been surveying seems rather to have been originally designed as a boundary to the Roman dominion, than a defence against enemies. Unless it was always well guarded with troops, it must have been but a very feeble frontier; nor could it be reckoned any gallant exploit to break through it. If the vanity of the Romans led them at first to imagine, that, by castles of mud, and walls of turf, they could confine the Caledonians as within another island, they were afterwards taught, by frequent experience, how much they had been mistaken. Though this frontier was but of a small extent, yet they found it far from being an easy task to defend it. The inroads of the Caledonians into the province are usually mentioned by all the Roman historians, who take any notice of British affairs, amongst the troublesome incidents

cidents of almost every reign. A people, naturally brave, could not behold in silence the triumphs of usurpation over their liberties and possessions, nor suffer to remain in tranquillity a land-mark, set by the hand of injustice, to exclude them from territories of which they were the rightful owners. In those early ages, the northern inhabitants of this island practised much the same methods to annoy their enemies, which their descendants have used in later times. Perceiving the superiority of the Roman discipline to their own, they seldom ventured to attack them in the open field, but stole in by incursions upon their territories; and, after committing dreadful ravages, usually retired before the enemy was in a posture to attack them. The pride of the Romans ordinarily distinguished those assailants by the name of barbarians; a name which, with supercilious contempt, they bestowed upon all mankind except themselves; though a philosophical inquirer will not easily discover a reason why this appellation should be so generally applied to other nations, any more than to the imperious sons of Rome, unless it be that they

they had not made so great progress in the destructive science of war and conquest, nor learned, like them, to methodize oppression and injustice into a regular system.

In the reign of Commodus, little more than twenty years after the death of Antoninus, the Caledonians passed the wall, and, after cutting in pieces a Roman general, with the greatest part of his army, continued their devastations till Ulpius Marcellus, a commander of great experience, was sent from Rome against them, who, after much bloodshed, drove them back, and restored the island to tranquillity *. That tranquillity, however, was of no long duration; the Caledonians soon renewed hostilities, and continued to give such trouble, that Severus, when he became master of the empire, found it necessary to appoint a new general, with a great military command, for the sole purpose of watching their motions, and preventing their incursions. Besides the ordinary governor of the province in the southern parts, Virius Lupus was appointed to protect the northern frontier;

* Dio, lib. 62.

tier; but, being harrassed with the continual inroads of the Caledonians, he found it very difficult to maintain his station, till he had purchased a truce for several years with money: Nor did this secure to him perpetual tranquillity; for the northern nations made a new attack upon the frontier, with a vigour, which he found himself unable to withstand, till he received a reinforcement; and, therefore, was obliged to retire as they advanced. This so incensed Severus, that he resolved upon the intire extirpation of the Caledonians, which yet he was unable to effect; for all his formidable preparations and tedious marches through Caledonia, in which he is said to have lost fifty thousand men, terminated in a peace with that people*. After which, finding it so troublesome to defend the boundary of Antoninus, he fixed the limits of the empire by a strong frontier in the north of England. From that time, all that part of Britain, now called Scotland, seems to have been abandoned by the Romans, until the reign of Valentini-

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* Dio, lib. 78.

an, when the Caledonians, who then begin to be distinguished in history by the new names of Scots, Picts, and Attacots, making a dreadful eruption into the Roman province, Theodosius, a commander of great reputation, was sent against them, who drove them beyond the friths of Forth and Clyde ; and, repairing the forts upon the wall of Antoninus, made it anew the boundary of the empire : The tract of country, which by this means was recovered, was erected into a fifth British province, and called Valentia. Not long after this, the Roman forces were recalled from Britain, and all the extremities of the empire, to defend the centre, which was attacked by the Goths, and other northern nations. This put a final period to the Roman dominion in Britain, where it had subsisted, though not without various revolutions, and frequent disturbances, and sometimes in a low condition, at other times in a high degree of splendor, in the southern parts, since the invasion of Julius Caesar, a period of five hundred years ; and, in the northern parts, since

since the time of Agricola, about three hundred and thirty years.

Unless we had, as it were by habit, contracted a prepossession in favour of every thing upon which we see the name of so great and renowned a people as the Romans, who so long ruled the earth with much glory and many virtues, but perhaps with greater crimes ; who framed the most wise and salutary laws for the administration of private justice, and to whom every scholar is indebted for the first rudiments of classical literature, we could not have thought it worth while to take so serious an account of those ruins ; for, though many monuments, which that people have left behind them in other parts of the earth, are justly reckoned grand and magnificent, all that remains of them in Scotland can lay small claim to these epithets.

The wall of Antoninus is now intirely demolished in many places, and the ground plowed where it stood ; and, as the canal, which generally runs parallel to it, will no doubt tend to the improvement of the adjacent fields, it is probable, that, twenty
years

years hence, few remains of it will be visible: The grounds still occupied by it will be more usefully employed; and, instead of those memorials of ambition and war, succeeding generations will behold green fields and plentiful harvests, the produce of peace and industry. The large town of Falkirk, the villages of Merchistown and Polmont, with their gardens, are situated upon the ruins of it; as also, the houses of Sea-begs, Glenfuir, and Bantaskine; and that of Caledonar stands within a few yards of it. The two great annual markets for black cattle, called the Tryfts of Falkirk, which were formerly held in a commonry upon the south of that town, have, within these few years, been removed to the muir around Roughcastle, where tents are erected for the accommodation of the merchants along the very summit of the wall: There one may see the Caledonians trampling upon the ruins of Roman ambition, and unfettered commerce occupying the seat of imperious usurpation.

SECT.

S E C T. IV.

Ancient Monuments upon the River Carron.

THE river Carron takes its rise in a mountainous tract of ground near the middle of the isthmus between the friths of Forth and Clyde. Both the source and the place where it emptieth itself into the sea, are within the shire of Stirling, which it divides into two nearly equal parts. The whole length of its course, which is from west to east, is not above fourteen miles; the first half of which is spent amongst bleak hills and rocks; but, when it hath reached the low grounds, its banks are cultivated and fruitful; and, as it advances, the neighbouring soil increases in richness and value, till, after passing through a champaigne and fertile tract of country called the Carse of Falkirk, it falls into the frith of Forth, about three miles north-east of that town. The stream thereof is but small, and scarce deserves

deserves the notice of a traveller ; yet there is no river in Scotland, and few in the whole island of Britain, whose banks have been the stage of so many memorable transactions. When the Roman empire was in all its glory, and had its eastern frontiers upon the Euphrates, the banks of Carron were its boundaries upon the north-west ; for the wall of Antoninus, which was raised to mark the limits of that mighty empire, stood in the neighbourhood of this river, and ran parallel to it for many miles.

———Gentesque alias cum pelleret armis
Sedibus, aut victas vilem servaret in usum
Servitii, hic contenta suos defendere fines
Roma securigeris praetendit maenia Scotis :
Hic, spe progressus posita, Carronis ad undam,
Terminus Aufonii signat divortia regni. BUCH.

Etymological researches are for the most part void of useful instruction, as they seldom terminate in certainty. Names of rivers, mountains, and cities, have perhaps more frequently derived their origin from casual circumstances, or the fallies of capricious fancy, than from important transactions,

tions, or any natural peculiarities. Nennius derives the name of this river from Carausius, who is commonly stiled the Usurper. The translator of Ossian's poems informs us, that it is of a Gallic original, and that *Caraon* signifies a Winding River. This fully expresses one quality of its stream, which, in former times, before it had forced a new channel to itself in some places, and been straightened by human industry in others, fetched many serpentine sweeps in its passage through the Carses. Nevertheless, if we say that the original name was *Caeravon*, that is, the River upon the *Caers*, or Castles, alluding to the Roman fortifications upon its banks, we shall perhaps give an etymology just as probable, though equally uncertain.

This river, during the first half of its course, offers nothing remarkable. Near its source stands an old ruinous building, called Graham's castle, which is commonly said to have been the place of the birth and residence of the brave Sir John Graham, who was slain in the battle of Falkirk, in the end of the thirteenth century. It is situated

tuated upon the brow of a hill, and has been strongly fortified, according to the custom of those times, with a deep ditch and a draw-bridge. It often afforded a retreat to the celebrated Sir William Wallace, when he stood in need of a little breathing in the midst of his toilsome adventures. Near it stand the ruins of a chapel, with a burial-place, called the *kirk of muir*, which belonged to the family of Graham.

Those old castles, which are so frequently to be met with in every shire, present us with a striking picture of both the simplicity and ferocity of the Scottish barons, in former ages. Constant discord with their neighbours, which often broke out into open hostilities, obliged them to hold their houses always in a state of defence: For this reason, they were usually built either in marshy and low spots, where they could easily be surrounded with water-ditches, or upon the extremity of a rock, or the side of a mountain, where nature, with a little assistance from art, rendered them difficult of access. The fabrick was ordinarily so small and confined, that one narrow apartment must have

have contained several beds, which were often placed in alcoves arched with stone. Though the landlords were distinguished by a rustic sort of hospitality, and often carried their entertainments to the highest degrees of intemperance, yet, so far were they from being acquainted with the elegancies of life, that they appear to have been almost utter strangers to many things which are at present ranked among the plainest necessaries. Seldom are any vestiges of a garden to be seen around those old dwellings. Greens, and other pot-herbage, which now form a part of the daily repast of the lowest mechanic, were at that time rarely to be found, except in the gardens of monasteries.

Two miles below Graham's castle, we meet with a natural curiosity. The river, in a course of ages, having worn out to itself an hollow channel in a rock, forms a beautiful cascade, by pouring its contracted stream all at once over a precipice above twenty feet in height. This cataract is little known, as it is in a very remote and unfrequented valley; and, if we were writing in

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verse,

verse, we would be obliged to say of it, what Horace says of the little town, in which he lodged a night, in his journey from Rome to Brundisium, 'Versu dicere non est.' It goes by the name of Auchin-lilly-lispout.

Not long after it hath reached the low country, the river comes up to a small, but pleasant valley, where, upon the north bank, stand two beautiful mounts, called the hills of Dunipace, which are taken notice of by most of our historians, as monuments of great antiquity. The whole structure of these mounts is of earth; but they are not both of the same form and dimensions. The more easterly one is perfectly round, resembling an oven, and about fifty feet in height. That it is an artificial work, does not admit of the least doubt; but the same thing cannot be affirmed, with equal certainty, of the other, though it hath generally been supposed to be so too. It bears no resemblance to the eastern one, either in shape or size. At the foundation it is nearly of a triangular form; but the superstructure is quite irregular; nor does the height of it bear any proportion

portion to the extent of its base. Buchanan calls this western mount the smallest; but his memory had quite failed him, for there is at least four times the quantity of earth in it which is in the other; neither can we discern any appearance of the river having ever come so near as to wash away any part of it, as that historian affirms; though it is not improbable, that considerable encroachments have been made upon it, which have greatly altered its original shape, for it affords an excellent kind of gravel for different uses.

The mounts are now planted with firs, which, together with the parish-church of Dunipace, standing in the middle between them, and the river running hard by, give this valley a romantick appearance.

The common account given of these mounts is, that they were erected as monuments of a peace concluded in that place, betwixt the Romans and the Caledonians, and that their name partakes of the language of both people; *Dun* signifying a hill in the ancient language of the country, and *pax*, peace in the language of Rome; the
compound

compound word *Dunipace*, according to this etymology, signifies the hills of peace. We find, in history, notice taken of three treaties of peace that were, at different periods, concluded between the Romans and Caledonians; the first by Severus, about the year 210; the second soon after, by his son Caracalla; and the third by the usurper Carausius*, about the year 286. But of which of these treaties Dunipace is a monument, we do not pretend to determine, though antiquaries seem generally inclined to understand it of the first.

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* In the reign of Dioclesian, Carausius, a native of Gaul, having, by the Emperor's orders, built a fleet to watch the Saxons, who, about that time, began to infest the seas with piracies, passed over into Britain, and, assuming the title of Emperor, was acknowledged by all the troops quartered there. He maintained himself in that sovereignty against all the efforts of the Romans, who were at last glad to enter into a treaty with him, whereby they ceded to him the government of the island, which he had held seven years, when he was killed by Allectus. He made peace with the Caledonians, in order to obtain their assistance against the Romans. He was much skilled in maritime affairs, and seems to have been the first British sovereign, who made use of a naval force to defend his dominions.

If the concurring testimony of historians and antiquaries did not unite, in giving this original to these mounts, we would be tempted to conjecture, that they are sepulchral monuments. Human bones and urns have been discovered in earthen fabrics of a similar construction in many parts of the island; and the little mounts or barrows, which are scattered in great numbers around Stonehenge, in Salisbury plain, are generally supposed to have been the sepulchres of the ancient Britons.

Dunipace is taken notice of in history, as a place where important national causes have been decided, and that more than once, by great Monarchs in person. It hath already been observed, that the Roman Emperor Severus, accompanied by his sons Caracalla and Geta, is supposed to have there concluded a peace with the Caledonians. We find Edward I. of England, at Dunipace, upon the 14th of October 1301, where he signed a warrant to his plenipotentiaries, who were at that time in France, authorising them to consent to a truce with the Scots, as a necessary preliminary towards

wards a peace with their ally, the French king, between whom and Edward an obstinate war had long raged *. At the chapel of this place too, Robert Bruce and William Wallace are said to have had a second conference, the morning after the battle of Falkirk, which effectually opened the eyes of the former, to a just view of his own true interest, and that of his country.

Until the bridge of Larbert was erected in the last century, the ordinary place of crossing Carron seems to have been at Dunipace; no where else does the river offer a passage naturally so commodious and easy, the banks being generally steep and rugged. Those numerous armies which frequently traversed this shire, appear to have taken their rout that way, at least since the demolition of the Roman bridge, which stood half a mile to the eastward.

We set out again upon our survey. After the river hath left the valley of Dunipace, it runs for some time in a deep and hollow channel, with steep banks on each side; here

* Rhýmer's foedera, Tom. II.

here it passes by the foundations of the Roman bridge, not far from which, as is generally thought, was the scene of the first conference betwixt Wallace and Bruce, upon the evening of that day in which the battle of Falkirk was fought.

After the river hath left the village and bridge of Larbert, it soon comes up to another small valley, through the midst of which it hath now worn out to itself a straight channel; whereas, in former ages, it had taken a considerable compass southward, as appears by the track of the old bed, which is still visible. The high and circling banks upon the south side, give to this valley the appearance of a spacious bay; and, as tradition goes, there was once an harbour here. Nor does the tradition appear altogether groundless; pieces of broken anchors have been found here within the memory of people yet alive, and the stream-tides would still flow near the place, if they were not kept back by the great dam-head, built across the river at Stenehouse: There is reason too to believe, that the frith flowed considerably higher in former ages than
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it does at present ; so that there is no improbability in supposing that, at least, small craft might have advanced thus far. In the near neighbourhood of this valley stand the ruins of ancient Camelon, which, though we have no ground to believe that it ever had possessed that degree of extent and splendor which some credulous authors mention, yet might be inhabited by the natives of the country for several ages after it was abandoned by the Romans.

We were not born in due time to be able, from ocular inspection, to give any account of an antient monument called *Arthur's Oven*, which once stood upon the banks of Carron, but was intirely demolished above thirty years ago. The corner of a small inclosure, between Stenehouse and the Carron iron-works, is pointed out as having been the place of its situation. This is generally supposed to have been a Roman work, though it is not easy to conceive what could be the particular inducement for erecting such a fabric at so great a distance from any other of their works, and in a spot which, at that time, must have

have been very remote and unfrequented. The form of it is said to have been perfectly round, rising perpendicular for some yards at first; but afterwards was gradually contracted, till it terminated in a narrow orifice at the top; the height of it, according to Mr Gordon, who measured it, was twenty-two feet. Antiquaries are not agreed whether it had been a temple, or a trophy, or a mausoleum, though the most common opinion is, that it had been a temple, and, Buchanan thinks, a temple of Terminus. Hector Boetius, who speaks as having seen it, says, that there had been benches of stone all around upon the inside, and a large stone for sacrificing upon, or an altar, upon the south side; the same author likewise adds, that the upper door-post, upon which the Roman eagle, with an inscription, is said to have been engraven, was either carried off, or disfigured by Edward I. in the midst of his rage against the Scottish monuments of antiquity. Buchanan says, the stones of this fabric were morticed into one another; but the demolition of it rectified that mistake; for it was found, that the

small hole which appears in the stones, and widens as it grows in depth, was designed for fixing an instrument in them, in order to raise them with greater facility to their respective places in the building. By an instrument of a similar kind, the large stones which compose the locks of the canal were raised and conveyed to their proper beds. That historian also diminishes its size, when he says it could scarce contain ten soldiers; whereas, we are informed by Mr Gordon, that its internal diameter, at the base, wanted only a few inches of twenty feet. A model of Arthur's oven is preserved in a fabric erected at Pennycuick by Sir James Clark.

As Carron extends over the half of the isthmus, and runs so near the ancient boundaries of the Roman empire, it may be naturally concluded, that the adjacent country has been the scene of many battles and rencounters, the memory of which is now entirely lost; nor is there any cause to lament that they are buried in oblivion. The histories we are in possession of are sufficiently full in describing the carnage of fields of slaughter,

slaughter, and the barbarous attempts which human creatures have made to destroy one another. The deeds of martial courage and ferocity have filled many volumes, while those of justice, equity, and benevolence, have seldom been thought worthy to be recorded. Historians mention a bloody battle fought upon the banks of this river between the Romans and the confederate armies of the Scots and Picts, commanded by Fergus II. in the beginning of the fifth century *. Probably the two armies disputed the passage of the river at Dunipace. The Romans remained masters of the field, but not till after it had long been fought, with such obstinate fury, as caused a dreadful slaughter on both sides, inso-much that authors, in their description of the combat, have used the extravagant, though trite hyperbole, of the water running red for miles with blood.

The scenes of some of Ossian's poems were, in the opinion of the translator of them, upon the banks of this river. Here
Fingal

* Boet. L. 7. Buchan. L. 5.

Fingal fought with Caracul, the son of the king of the world, supposed to have been the same with Caracalla, the son of the Roman Emperor Severus. Here also young Oscar, the son of Ossian, performed several of his heroic exploits. Hereabout too, we are directed to look for the stream of Crona, so much celebrated in the ancient compositions of the Gallic bard ; but we find ourselves now treading upon very uncertain ground, and know not where to find that stream, if it was not the water of Bonny, which runs in the near neighbourhood of the Roman wall, and dischargeth itself into Carron, opposite to Dunipace. In those poems, mention is made of a green vale upon the banks of Carron, with a tomb standing in the midst of it, where young Oscar's party, and the warriors of Caros, supposed to be the usurper Carausius, met. This is only taken notice of, as it strengthens the conjecture which is already hazarded, that the mounts of Dunipace, especially the more easterly of them, have been intended for sepulchral monuments. At the same time, however, it occurs, that the tomb mentioned

mentioned by Ossian, might possibly be Arthur's oven, between which and the river lay a green and level plat of ground, upon which the iron work is now erected.

At the distance of half a mile from the river, and near the town of Falkirk, lies the field of that battle which was fought between the Scots, under Sir William Wallace, and the English, in the end of the thirteenth century. It goes by the name of *Graham's-muir*, from the valiant John Graham, who fell there, and whose gravestone is still to be seen in the church-yard of Falkirk.

The river Carron, though it hath long since ceased to roll its stream amidst the din of arms, still preserves its fame, by lending its useful aid to trade and manufactures. About seventeen years ago, a great iron work was erected upon it, the appendages of which, such as canals, dams, and reservoirs, extend several miles along its banks. This work gives daily employment to some hundreds of people; and, besides many smaller articles in the metal way, great numbers of cannon of different sizes, with the name
of

of the river upon each of them, are cast there every year, not only for the service of the British government, but for that of other powers. The river is navigable for several miles near its mouth, and a trade, far from being inconsiderable, is carried on upon it by small craft, for the facilitating of which, the channel hath of late years been straightened in sundry places, and by that means much shortened. The great canal too hath its entrance from this river, and runs parallel to it, at no great distance, for a good number of miles.

S E C T. V.

Miscellaneous Observations.

MONUMENTS of the Roman usurpation are often to be met with, in places where the memory of that people is entirely lost amongst the present inhabitants. This is generally the case in Scotland. The forts of Agricola, and the wall of Antoninus, are commonly ascribed to the Picts or Peaghs, whom the vulgar always speak of, as if they had been a set of creatures somewhat different from the rest of the human species.

The military causeway, and other of the Roman works, are sometimes ascribed to the same people, at other times to Michael Scot of Balwirie, who is supposed to have performed many extraordinary exploits by his skill in magic. Many whimsical and ridiculous accounts of those monuments are still current; but, amongst them all, the Roman
name

name is seldom or never mentioned: This naturally brings to our remembrance the prophecy of Lucan, which is literally fulfilled of the Roman works in Scotland, as well as in many other parts of the globe.

———Tunc omne Latinum

Fabula nomen erit *.———

We have but small glimmerings of light to direct our inquiries into the state and transactions of Scotland during the Roman dominion, and for many ages after it. We cannot rely upon our own historians, except when they borrow from those of Rome; nor are the accounts we find in these last any more than general and broken hints. We need not, however, hesitate a moment to affirm, that the natural, as well as the political condition of North Britain, was, in those remote ages, very different from what it hath been for a number of centuries past; barren heaths, undrained marshes, and thick forrests, covered the greatest part of it. The
Roman

* Lucan. lib. 7.

Roman historians represent it as one of the most forbidding spots in all the globe, uncultivated and frightful all over. Herodian speaks as if the sun never shone upon it, his rays being obstructed by perpetual fogs arising from the damp woods and unwholesome fens*. Such accounts are no doubt exaggerated; for these authors sought in every thing to magnify the courage of their armies, by representing the difficulties and hardships they had to surmount in their conquests. They are not, however, so wide of the truth as may at first be imagined; for, in an island surrounded by immense oceans as this is, a clouded sky must naturally be a much more frequent object than upon the continent; and, an uncultivated soil, where the marshes are undrained, and the woods so thick, as to obstruct the free current of air, must, of course, be damp and unwholesome.

The barren heaths and bleak mountains of Annandale and Clydesdale, over which the Roman armies marched into Scotland,

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* Herod. lib. 3. cap. 47.

could not raise in them any great expectation of being enriched by the conquest of the country. It is not easy to imagine what could induce a people, bred in mild and fertile climes, to enter upon the hardships of subduing regions so cold and inhospitable. One of themselves, however, who was well acquainted with the proud and rapacious disposition of his own nation, hath honestly laid open to the world the secret springs which guided all their operations, though he makes another express it.

‘ Si locuples hostis est, avari ; si pauper,
‘ ambitiosi. Quos non Oriens, non Occi-
‘ dens fatiaverit : Soli omnium opes atque
‘ inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. Au-
‘ ferre, trucidare, rapere falsis nominibus,
‘ imperium ; atque, ubi solitudinem faciunt,
‘ pacem appellant*.’

The vast woods in Britain were not altogether owing to the indolence of the inhabitants and their unskilfulness in agriculture. The careful preservation of them proceeded from a principle of religion. The
druidical

* Tacit. in Agric.

druidical system of worship was adopted over all the north of Europe; according to which, not only woods and groves, but single trees, boughs, and leaves, were reckoned sacred. This is one great reason why forests were so frequent in Gaul, Germany, and Britain. They made it a piece of religion not to cut them down, unless it were some branches of the oak, and a few other trees, which they carried about with them on particular solemnities.

A country so little cultivated, and the chief subsistence of whose inhabitants must have been by the pasture of cattle, could be but thinly peopled. Tacitus speaks of large tribes, or clans, *amplae civitates*, who dwelt beyond Bodotria; yet the army which fought with Agricola at the foot of Mount Grampius did not amount to much above thirty thousand, though this was the great effort of the Caledonians, to which all the force they could muster from every quarter was collected †: Nor need we suspect that the number was greater; for the Romans, in order

† Tacit. in Agric.

order to set off their own valour, were accustomed rather to magnify than diminish the number of their enemies.

We do not observe in Ptolemy's description of Britain, any place which we can affirm to have been situated within the shire of Stirling, though there are few other parts of the island where we cannot follow that antient geographer with a tolerable degree of certainty. The only place in this neighbourhood taken notice of by him, is that to which he gives the name of Alauna. This, some conjecture to have been the Roman fortifications upon the river Carron, which now go by the name of Camelon; in the two last syllables of which, that antient name is preserved, with only a small variation. Ptolemy, however, seems to give to his Alauna a more northerly situation, so that we should rather look for it beyond the present town of Stirling; but, upon what particular place it was situated, whether upon the water of Allon, near Dumblane, or at the town of Alloa, upon the frith, in both which are discernible some resemblances of the name, we do not take upon us to determine.

termine. A probable reason may be assigned for that author's taking notice of so few places between the friths. The Romans had few or no fixed settlements at any time beyond the wall of Antoninus; and the natives of the country might find it not desirable to take up any residence so near the boundaries of a people, who had discovered so strong a disposition to pillage and enslave them, and who were never renowned for being the best neighbours. By reason of the hostilities which were perpetually carried on betwixt those new usurpers and the ancient inhabitants, and the inroads they made upon each other, the whole isthmus, during the time of the Roman dominion, was probably much in the same state in which the borders between England and Scotland are well known to have been in later ages, during the continual feuds between the two kingdoms. It must be observed too, that Ptolemy hath committed a capital error in his plan of that part of the island that lies beyond the two friths. He hath given it a wrong position; for, whereas it stretches directly northward,

northward, he makes it turn eastward, and run a great way into the German ocean. This error begins at the isthmus, which throws all thereabout into confusion, and renders it unsafe to depend upon that author in that part of his otherwise valuable work.

After the retreat of the Romans from the island, that part of it which lies beyond the friths of Forth and Clyde, was, for many ages, divided into two separate kingdoms; the kingdom of the Scots, in the West Highlands, and that of the Picts, upon the eastern coast: But the history of both is involved in much obscurity: Any glimmerings of light we have to guide our inquiries concerning them, are derived from such imperfect, and often fabulous, chronicles, as escaped the malicious policy of Edward I. of England, who, towards the end of the thirteenth century, robbed this country of all the historical monuments which, either by force or fraud, he could get possession of. We cannot pretend to ascertain, with exactness, the boundaries of the Scottish and Pictish empires. We learn, however,
that

that the Scots had no settled dominions upon the south of Clyde, till many ages after the departure of the Romans. A nation of Britons possessed the south-west of Scotland, together with a part of the north of England, and formed the kingdom of Cumbria, which subsisted, though not without several revolutions, and frequent disturbances from its neighbours, to the beginning of the tenth century *. This kingdom comprehended the provinces of Galloway, Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham, besides the large archbishoprick of Glasgow, which extended through the greatest part of Cumberland. It was at last subdued by the English, who, in order to attach the Scottish king to their interest, made a present of it to Malcolm Prince of Scotland, to be held as a fief depending on the crown of England. And this was the foundation of the homage which the Scottish kings paid to the English for the dominions they possessed in the north of that kingdom. The Cumbrians, by this means, became incorporated with
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* Father Innes's history.

the Scots, and lost their original distinction: The name, however, of that people is still preserved, not only in Cumberland, now a province of England, but in the islands of Cumbrays in the mouth of Clyde, in many places of Clydesdale, and in Cumbernauld in Dumbartonshire, near the borders of the shire we are surveying.

Neither did the Picts obtain the constant and uninterrupted possession of the Lothians, till towards the end of the eight century. Till that time, the countries upon the south of Forth were generally subject to those powers who reigned in the north of England. The Saxon kingdom of Northumberland, which was erected near the middle of the sixth century, and continued for the space of 200 years, to be one of the most powerful of all the Heptarchies, extended from the Humber to the frith of Forth, and the town of Stirling. Tor, or Thor, from whom the name of Thursday, the fifth day of the week, is derived, was one of the chief deities of that people, whom, before they acknowledged the Christian faith, they worshipped in groves and high places. Some memorials of that wor-
ship

ship are thought to be still preserved in the names of sundry places in those parts ; as in Corstorphine, near Edinburgh, Torphichen, and Torben in West Lothian, and Torwood in the shire we are surveying.

In those ages, that tract of country now called Stirlingshire, was situated upon the confines of no less than four kingdoms ; it had the Northumbrian and Cumbrian dominions upon the south, and those of the Scots and Picts upon the north ; probably it belonged sometimes to one, sometimes to another, for they were perpetually making encroachments upon each other ; nor could those who lay upon opposite banks of the Forth commit mutual hostilities, without taking their rout through this shire. A country so liable to be harrassed by frequent marches and rencounters, must have been but very thin of inhabitants, and little better than a desert.

Bede, who lived in the eight century, mentions a town called Guidi, which was situated upon the frith of Forth * ; Bucha-
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* Bede, lib. 1. cap. 12.

nan is of opinion that this was the ancient Camelon near Falkirk †. Bede, however, places Guidi about the middle of the frith, whereas Camelon is situated some miles beyond its western termination. It is probable, that that venerable historian, having seldom or never been in Scotland, and living in a dark age, when his information could not be the most perfect, hath committed several errors in his account of that country, as Cambden, who lived in a later age, and had better means of information, hath evidently done. If we explain Bede literally, Guidi stood in the midst of the frith; ‘*Orientalis (Sinus) habet in medio sui urbem Guidi.*’ No island now appears in the frith, that can afford a situation to a town; upon Inch-keith, and Inch-garvie, are the remains of fortifications erected little above two centuries ago; and upon Inchcolm are the ruins of a stately monastery founded by Alexander I. near the beginning of the twelfth century; but these islands are all of so small an extent, that we cannot

† Buch. hist. lib. i.

not so much as imagine that Guidi stood upon any of them. Our author, whose style is far from being pure, and, on that account, often not very intelligible, without doubt intended to signify, that that town stood about the middle of the coast, though, whether upon the north or south, we are left in the dark.

Near the parish church of Logie, two miles north from the town of Stirling, are several large stones standing erect, as also some near the church of Alva, which appear to have been fixed there in very ancient times, and were no doubt intended to perpetuate the memory of an important transaction which had happened in those parts. It is well known to have been a custom of the old Scots, to erect large stones in fields of battle, either as memorials of a victory, or to preserve the knowledge of the spot in which any of their eminent warriors had fallen. This is often mentioned in the works of Ossian. That bard himself, and Toscar, one of his brothers, were sent by Fingal their father, to raise a stone upon the banks of the stream of Crona, in order to perpetuate the
memory

memory of a victory which he had some time before obtained there. Such monuments are still to be seen in almost every shire. Two stones stand to this day in the field near Stirling, where Randolph, Earl of Murray, and Lord Clifford the English general, had a sharp rencounter, the evening before the great battle of Bannockburn; and, so late as the battle of Killicrankie, the highlanders reared up a large stone in the spot where Claverhouse their commander fell. Of what event the stones we are now taking a view of are monuments, cannot with certainty be determined. When the national enmity that had long subsisted between the Scots and Picts arose to so great a height in the ninth century, that one of those kingdoms must fall, several fierce and bloody battles were fought, before it was finally decided, who was to give laws to Scotland. One of these battles was fought near the river Forth. Kenneth II. who at that time occupied the throne, commanded the Scottish army, which he assembled in the neighbourhood of Stirling, in order to avenge the death of king Alpin his father, who,

who, having been taken prisoner in a former action, had been basely murdered by the Picts. Before they had time to march from the place of rendezvous, they were attacked by the Picts, aided by some auxiliaries from England; the combat was fierce and bloody, but the victory at last fell to Kenneth, who pursued the flying enemy with great slaughter, and drove many of them into the Forth*. As the castle and town of Stirling were at that time in the hands of the Picts†, the rendezvous of Kenneth's army, and the battle, must have been upon the north side of the river; and, as every circumstance of that action leads us to conclude, that it happened near the spot where those stones stand, we are strongly inclined to consider them as monuments of it. The conjecture too is farther confirmed, from a tract of ground in the neighbourhood, which, from time immemorial, hath gone by the name of *Cambuskenneth*, that is, the field or creek of Kenneth, upon which the noble monastery of the same name stood.

After

* Boet. lib. 10.

† Ibidem.

After the overthrow of the Pictish empire, the shire of Stirling, with all the country upon the south side of the Forth, was for some years under the dominion of the Northumbrian Saxons. Of this revolution we shall speak more fully, when we come to give the history of the castle and town of Stirling.

The greatest part of this shire wears the marks of a late cultivation. Besides the obstacles to agriculture, arising from its local situation, which exposed it to so frequent military marches and rencounters, a forrest, perhaps a wing of the Caledonian, long continued to extend over much of it, many vestiges of which remain unto this day. The Torwood, and that of Callendar, with many banks of natural timber, still subsist; and stumps of trees, with much brushwood, are to be seen in many fields, which are now cultivated, and tolerably fertile.

We leave those dark and unsatisfying speculations, to take a view of more recent and certain transactions, which have happened in this shire: This we shall attempt, by casting our eye upon the accounts which
authentic

authentic records, or approved historians, have given of those transactions; and, at the same time, upon the fields which were the scenes of them; sometimes too, by calling in probable tradition to our aid.

S E C T. VI.

The Abbacy of Cambuskenneth, and other Religious Houses.

IN 1124, David I. the youngest son of Malcolm Canmore, mounted the Scottish throne, which had been successively occupied by three of his brothers before him. This prince is celebrated on account of many valuable qualities. By his valour, he not only defended the kingdom against the hostile attempts of England, but made several successful inroads upon that nation; by his wisdom, he established the most salutary laws for the internal government of his own dominions, and the administration of justice amongst his subjects. To him we are indebted for that system of laws which, from the two first words of it, goes
by

by the name of *Regiam Majestatem*. His military prowess, and political talents, were also accompanied with great ardor of devotion, according to the religious system of those times, which had degenerated into the rankest superstition; this led him so far into the common error of the age, that, by the erection and endowments of religious houses, in different parts of his dominions, he greatly impoverished the revenues of the crown. Not satisfied with repairing those that were decayed by age, or spoiled by the injuries of war, he raised so many new establishments of that kind, that, if we had not full evidence of his activity in civil and military transactions, we would be induced to believe, that he had employed his whole life in the affairs of religion.

Four bishopricks, eleven abbacies, two monasteries, besides sundry small religious fabrics, owed their foundations and first endowments to this Prince's mistaken notions of piety; and, in testimony of gratitude, the clergy, who found their interest so much advanced by the liberality of their sovereign,

sovereign, distinguished him by the title of St David.

Cambuskenneth, which, in process of time, became one of the most opulent and stately of the Scottish abbacies, was founded by that Monarch in 1147. Though it stood in the shire of Clackmannan, yet, as it had very large possessions in that which we are surveying, and was situated upon the borders thereof, an account of it can be reckoned no great deviation from our plan. It was situated half a mile north-east of the town of Stirling, upon the north bank of the Forth, and in a sort of a peninsula formed by that winding river. The adjacent fields had been the scene of some transaction, in which one of those Scottish monarchs, who bore the name of Kenneth, had been concerned; and from thence the place received the name of Cambuskenneth, which, as was observed in the preceeding section, signifieth the field or creek of Kenneth. The situation was both pleasant and convenient, in the midst of a fertile country, where the community could be supplied with all sorts of provisions, as grain

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of

of every kind, coal, and plenty of fish from the neighbouring river.

As soon as the house was fit to receive inhabitants, it was planted with a company of monks, or canons regular, who were translated from Aroise, near to Arras, in the province of Artois in France; they were of that order who observed the rules of St Augustine, an order afterwards so numerous in Scotland, as to possess no less than twenty-eight monasteries in the kingdom*.

This erection was sometimes called the monastery of Stirling, from its vicinity to that town; and the abbots are often designed, in the subscriptions of old charters, *abbates de Striveling*. The church which belonged to it was dedicated to St Mary; hence a lane leading from the high-street of that town to the monastery, still goes by the name of St Mary's wynd.

It will not, perhaps, be unacceptable to the reader to be presented with an English translation of the first charter of King David to the religious fraternity of this place.

‘ In

* Keith on religious houses.

‘ In the name of the Father, and of the
 ‘ Son, and of the Holy Spirit, amen. I
 ‘ David, by the grace of God, King of
 ‘ Scots, with the consent of Henry my son,
 ‘ and the Bishops of my realm, and with
 ‘ the confirmation and attestation of the
 ‘ Earls and Barons, do grant and confirm,
 ‘ in peaceable and perpetual possession, to
 ‘ the church of St Mary of Striveling,
 ‘ and the Canons regularly living therein,
 ‘ the subjects underwritten, viz. The lands
 ‘ of Cambuskenneth, and the privilege of
 ‘ fishing with one net in the water, betwixt
 ‘ these lands and Polmaise; also the lands
 ‘ of Colling, with the wood, and other just
 ‘ divisions thereof; the lands of Dunbode-
 ‘ num, (Tillibody), which lie between the
 ‘ water of the same lands, and the lands of
 ‘ Loching; forty shillings of my revenues
 ‘ of Stirling; the cane of one ship; one
 ‘ salt pan, together with as much land as
 ‘ usually belongs to one of my own salt
 ‘ pans; the tenth of my feus of the lord-
 ‘ ship of Stirling; the oblations which shall
 ‘ at any time be offered in the foresaid
 ‘ church; the island which lies between
 ‘ Polmaise

Polmaise and Dunbodium; twenty curni of cheese out of my revenues of Stirling. I further grant and confirm to that church, the liberties and usages which I have granted and confirmed to the rest of the churches of my realm: It is therefore my will and pleasure, that, whatsoever the foresaid church possesseth at present, or shall possess in time to come, shall be possessed with as much quiet and freedom, as I myself possess the said lands, saving the defence of my kingdom, and the administration of regal justice, if the prelate shall, upon any pretence, swerve from his just allegiance. The witnesses of this confirmation are, Earl Henry, the Kings son; Robert, Bishop of St Andrew's; Gregory, Bishop of Dunkeld; Herbert, Elect of Glasgow; G. Abbot of Dumfermline; Abbot of St. Andrew's; Robert, Prior of St. Andrew's; Gilbert, Prior of Jeddewart; Edward, the Chancellor; Earl Duncan; Leodulph de Brechin; Hugh de Morville; Herbert, the Chamberlain; William de Summerville; Alan de

‘ de Foulis; William de Lindeff; Walter
‘ de Ridale *.’

Besides the subjects mentioned in the original charter, King David made fundry other considerable donations to the monastery. He conveyed a grant of the church of Clackmannan, with forty acres of land, and the priests croft near that church; as also of a toft at Stirling, and another at Linlithgow; together with the tenth of all the sums duly payable for obtaining decreets in the courts of Stirlingshire and Calendar. At another time, he bestowed the farm of Kettleston, near Linlithgow, together with the lands of Malar, near Touch, and certain privileges in the wood of Keltor, now known by the name of the Torwood.

The original charter was confirmed by fundry succeeding monarchs, with the addition of other lands and privileges. Large donations were also made by private persons, in so much that, in a short time, the endowments of this erection became very great.

* Chartulary of Cambuskenneth, in the Lawyers library, Edinburgh.

great. Some of those donations bear, that they were granted *in puram eleemosynam*; others, that they were made, *pro salute animae* of the donators.

Bulls were also obtained from fundry Popes, protecting the churches, lands, and other privileges belonging to the monastery, and prohibiting, under pain of excommunication, all persons whatsoever from withholding from the Canons any of their just rights, or disturbing them in the possession of them.

The most curious of those bulls is that of Pope Celestine III. dated May 1195, as it enumerates the possessions and immunities of the monastery at that time.

It protects ‘ the farm of Cambuskenneth;
‘ the lands of Colling; the lands of Carfie
‘ and Bandeath, with the wood thereof;
‘ Tillibotherny; the island called Redinche,
‘ which is situated between Tillibotherny
‘ and Polmaise; the farm of Kettleston,
‘ with its milns; the lands which lie upon
‘ the bank of the Forth, between Pulmille
‘ and the road which leads down to the
‘ ships; a full toft in the burgh of Stirling,
‘ and

‘ and another in Linlithgow; one net in
 ‘ the water of Forth; twenty cuderni of
 ‘ cheese out of the King’s revenues at Stir-
 ‘ ling; forty shillings of the King’s reve-
 ‘ nues of the same place; one salt pan, and
 ‘ as much land as belongs to one of the
 ‘ King’s salt pans; the church of Clackman-
 ‘ nan, with forty acres of land, and its
 ‘ chapels and toft; the fishings of Carrie
 ‘ and Tillibotherny; the fishing between
 ‘ Cambuskenneth and Polmaise; the half
 ‘ of the skins and tallow of all the beasts
 ‘ slain for the King’s use at Stirling.’

The preceeding possessions and privi-
 leges were the donations of King David;
 those that follow have the names of the se-
 veral donators prefixed to them.

‘ From a grant of King Malcolm, the
 ‘ miln of Clackmannan, except the multure
 ‘ of the King’s table, as often as he shall
 ‘ come to that village; fifty shillings out of
 ‘ the customs of Perth. By a grant of King
 ‘ William, a full toft in the village of Perth;
 ‘ the church of Kinclething, with lands
 ‘ and other pertinents; the church of Tul-
 ‘ licultri, with all its pertinents; the church
 ‘ of

‘ of Kincardine, with the lands assigned
 ‘ it, and all its pertinents; the church of
 ‘ Gleninglese, with all pertaining to it. By
 ‘ a grant of Countess Ada *, one full toft
 ‘ in the burgh of Crail, and half a carru-
 ‘ cate of land, and common pasturage in
 ‘ Pethcorthing; one merk of silver out of
 ‘ her revenues of Crail; one full toft in the
 ‘ burgh of Haddington. By a grant of
 ‘ Robert, Bishop of St. Andrew’s, the church
 ‘ of Egglis, (St Ninian’s), with its cha-
 ‘ pels of Dunipace and Lethberth, and all
 ‘ its other chapels and oratories, and all
 ‘ other pertinents. By a grant of Richard,
 ‘ Bishop of Dunkeld, confirmed by the
 ‘ King, the church of Alveth, with its per-
 ‘ tinents. By a gift of Allan, the son of
 ‘ Walter †, a full toft in the burgh of Ren-
 ‘ frew,

* This lady was the widow of Prince Henry, son
 of King David, who died before his father. She was
 a daughter of the Earl of Warren, in England, and
 mother of two Scottish Monarchs, viz. Malcolm IV.
 surnamed the Maiden, and William, surnamed the
 Lion.

† He was eldest son to Walter, Lord high Steward
 of Scotland. Before his father’s death, he is usually
 designed

'frew, and one fishing in the water of the
 'same village. By a grant of Philip de
 'Lunding, half a carrucate of land, with a
 'meadow pertaining to it in Balcormack;
 'the pasturage of five hundred sheep, and
 'twenty cows, and a carrucate of land in
 'the farm of Binning. By a grant of Go-
 'teline, and William, the son of Thorald,
 'confirmed by the King, the church of
 'Kirkintilloch, with half a carrucate of
 'land, and all pertinents. From a grant
 'of Gilbert de Umfraville, two ox gangs
 'of the lands of Dunipace chapel.'

The bull likewise protects to the monas-
 tery, the tithes of all the lands which the
 monks should cultivate with their own
 hands, or which should be cultivated at the
 expence of the community; as also, the
 tythes of all the beasts reared upon the pas-
 tures of the community; and inhibits all
 persons from exacting these tithes. It like-
 wise empowers the fraternity to nominate

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priests

designed *Alanus filius Walteri Dapiferi*. Upon his father's
 decease he succeeded to the office of high Steward,
 and from that time hath the designation of *Alanus fi-*
lius Walteri Dapifer.

priests or vicars to the several parish churches belonging to them, whom they were to present to the Bishop of the diocese, within whose jurisdiction these churches lay, that, upon finding them qualified, he might ordain them to the charge of the souls. These priests were to be answerable to the Bishop for the discharge of the spiritual functions, but to the monastery for the temporalities of their respective churches.

It moreover grants to the community the privilege of performing divine service, with a low voice, and shut doors, without ringing bells, in case of a national interdict.

Another bull of protection was granted by Innocent III. in 1201, in which, fundry parcels of lands at Innerkeithing, Duneglin, and Ayr, are mentioned, which had been conferred upon the monastery since the bull of Celestine.

During the space of two hundred years after its erection, the monastery was almost every year acquiring fresh additions of wealth and power, by donations of lands, tithes, patronages of churches, and annuities, proceeding from the liberality of Kings, noble-

noblemen, Bishops, and Barons, besides many rich oblations which were daily made by persons of every rank.

From the middle of the fifteenth century, there appears a visible decline of that spirit of liberality to those religious establishments, which, in preceeding ages, had been so vigorously exerted by all ranks. Donations became less frequent; and the immense possessions, which cathedrals and monasteries had acquired, began to be considered as public burdens; and that not without cause; for near the one half of Scotland was in possession of ecclesiastics. Several proprietors of land began to withhold payment of the tithes due out of their estates, till they were prosecuted, and decreets were obtained against them in the civil courts. John Lord Fleming, chamberlain of Scotland, under the regency of the Duke of Albany, in the minority of James V. relying, no doubt, upon his great power and influence, withheld, for seven years, payment of the tithes of his lands in Kirkintilloch, which amounted to thirty-three bolls of meal, and three bolls of barley.

ley yearly. He was prosecuted at the instance of the community in 1523, and made a composition for bygone arrears, at the rate of eight shillings four pennies Scots per boll. Much about the same time, the feuers and tenants of Kilmarnock were prosecuted for the tithes of their lands, which amounted to a large quantity of victual yearly*.

Two Priories belonged to the abbacy, which were,

1st, That of Insula Sancti Colmoci, or Inch Mahome, situated upon a small island in the loch of Monteith in Perthshire, which from thence is sometimes called the loch of Inch Mahome. This priory is said to have been founded by Murdoch Earl of Monteith, who was killed at the battle of Duplin in 1332; it is, however, more probable that he had only repaired it, or bestowed some considerable donation upon it; and, on that account, was looked upon as its second founder: For Adam Prior de L'isle de Saint Colmock is named amongst those

* Chartulary.

those who swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296. This priory was united, by James IV. to the chapel-royal of Stirling, and afterward bestowed *in commendam*, by James V. upon John Lord Erskine.

2d, Rosneth, in the shire of Dumbarton, which had been founded by the old Earls of Lennox, in honour of the Virgin Mary; it was also united to the chapel-royal of Stirling by James IV *.

The first abbot of Cambuskenneth was called Alfridus; but of him and his successors, for three centuries, we have found nothing memorable.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century, we find the abbots of this place frequently employed in important national transactions, or advanced to the highest civil offices.

The abbot of Cambuskenneth is named among those who, in 1423, were sent into England by Murdoch Duke of Albany, to negotiate a treaty concerning the ransom of James I. who had long been detained a
captive

* Keith on religious houses.

of the river upon each of them, are cast there every year, not only for the service of the British government, but for that of other powers. The river is navigable for several miles near its mouth, and a trade, far from being inconsiderable, is carried on upon it by small craft, for the facilitating of which, the channel hath of late years been straightened in sundry places, and by that means much shortened. The great canal too hath its entrance from this river, and runs parallel to it, at no great distance, for a good number of miles.

S E C T. V.

Miscellaneous Observations.

MONUMENTS of the Roman usurpation are often to be met with, in places where the memory of that people is entirely lost amongst the present inhabitants. This is generally the case in Scotland. The forts of Agricola, and the wall of Antoninus, are commonly ascribed to the Picts or Peaghs, whom the vulgar always speak of, as if they had been a set of creatures somewhat different from the rest of the human species.

The military causeway, and other of the Roman works, are sometimes ascribed to the same people, at other times to Michael Scot of Balwirie, who is supposed to have performed many extraordinary exploits by his skill in magic. Many whimsical and ridiculous accounts of those monuments are still current; but, amongst them all, the Roman
name

name is seldom or never mentioned: This naturally brings to our remembrance the prophecy of Lucan, which is literally fulfilled of the Roman works in Scotland, as well as in many other parts of the globe.

———Tunc omne Latinum

Fabula nomen erit *.———

We have but small glimmerings of light to direct our inquiries into the state and transactions of Scotland during the Roman dominion, and for many ages after it. We cannot rely upon our own historians, except when they borrow from those of Rome; nor are the accounts we find in these last any more than general and broken hints. We need not, however, hesitate a moment to affirm, that the natural, as well as the political condition of North Britain, was, in those remote ages, very different from what it hath been for a number of centuries past; barren heaths, undrained marshes, and thick forrests, covered the greatest part of it. The
Roman

* Lucan. lib. 7.

Roman historians represent it as one of the most forbidding spots in all the globe, uncultivated and frightful all over. Herodian speaks as if the sun never shone upon it, his rays being obstructed by perpetual fogs arising from the damp woods and unwholesome fens*. Such accounts are no doubt exaggerated; for these authors sought in every thing to magnify the courage of their armies, by representing the difficulties and hardships they had to surmount in their conquests. They are not, however, so wide of the truth as may at first be imagined; for, in an island surrounded by immense oceans as this is, a clouded sky must naturally be a much more frequent object than upon the continent; and, an uncultivated soil, where the marshes are undrained, and the woods so thick, as to obstruct the free current of air, must, of course, be damp and unwholesome.

The barren heaths and bleak mountains of Annandale and Clydesdale, over which the Roman armies marched into Scotland,

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could

* Herod. lib. 3. cap. 47.

could not raise in them any great expectation of being enriched by the conquest of the country. It is not easy to imagine what could induce a people, bred in mild and fertile climes, to enter upon the hardships of subduing regions so cold and inhospitable. One of themselves, however, who was well acquainted with the proud and rapacious disposition of his own nation, hath honestly laid open to the world the secret springs which guided all their operations, though he makes another express it.

‘ Si locuples hostis est, avari ; si pauper,
‘ ambitiosi. Quos non Oriens, non Occi-
‘ dens fatiaverit : Sôli omnium opes atque
‘ inopiam pari affectu concupiscunt. Au-
‘ ferre, trucidare, rapere falsis nominibus,
‘ imperium ; atque, ubi solitudinem faciunt,
‘ pacem appellant*.’

The vast woods in Britain were not altogether owing to the indolence of the inhabitants and their unskilfulness in agriculture. The careful preservation of them proceeded from a principle of religion. The
druidical

* Tacit. in Agric.

druidical system of worship was adopted over all the north of Europe ; according to which, not only woods and groves, but single trees, boughs, and leaves, were reckoned sacred. This is one great reason why forests were so frequent in Gaul, Germany, and Britain. They made it a piece of religion not to cut them down, unless it were some branches of the oak, and a few other trees, which they carried about with them on particular solemnities.

A country so little cultivated, and the chief subsistence of whose inhabitants must have been by the pasture of cattle, could be but thinly peopled. Tacitus speaks of large tribes, or clans, *amplae civitates*, who dwelt beyond Bodotria; yet the army which fought with Agricola at the foot of Mount Grampius did not amount to much above thirty thousand, though this was the great effort of the Caledonians, to which all the force they could muster from every quarter was collected † : Nor need we suspect that the number was greater ; for the Romans, in order

† Tacit. in Agric.

order to set off their own valour, were accustomed rather to magnify than diminish the number of their enemies.

We do not observe in Ptolemy's description of Britain, any place which we can affirm to have been situated within the shire of Stirling, though there are few other parts of the island where we cannot follow that antient geographer with a tolerable degree of certainty. The only place in this neighbourhood taken notice of by him, is that to which he gives the name of Alauna. This, some conjecture to have been the Roman fortifications upon the river Carron, which now go by the name of Camelon; in the two last syllables of which, that antient name is preserved, with only a small variation. Ptolemy, however, seems to give to his Alauna a more northerly situation, so that we should rather look for it beyond the present town of Stirling; but, upon what particular place it was situated, whether upon the water of Allon, near Dumblane, or at the town of Alloa, upon the frith, in both which are discernible some resemblances of the name, we do not take upon us to determine.

termine. A probable reason may be assigned for that author's taking notice of so few places between the friths. The Romans had few or no fixed settlements at any time beyond the wall of Antoninus; and the natives of the country might find it not desirable to take up any residence so near the boundaries of a people, who had discovered so strong a disposition to pillage and enslave them, and who were never renowned for being the best neighbours. By reason of the hostilities which were perpetually carried on betwixt those new usurpers and the ancient inhabitants, and the inroads they made upon each other, the whole isthmus, during the time of the Roman dominion, was probably much in the same state in which the borders between England and Scotland are well known to have been in later ages, during the continual feuds between the two kingdoms. It must be observed too, that Ptolemy hath committed a capital error in his plan of that part of the island that lies beyond the two friths. He hath given it a wrong position; for, whereas it stretches directly northward,

northward, he makes it turn eastward, and run a great way into the German ocean. This error begins at the isthmus, which throws all thereabout into confusion, and renders it unsafe to depend upon that author in that part of his otherwise valuable work.

After the retreat of the Romans from the island, that part of it which lies beyond the friths of Forth and Clyde, was, for many ages, divided into two separate kingdoms; the kingdom of the Scots, in the West Highlands, and that of the Picts, upon the eastern coast: But the history of both is involved in much obscurity: Any glimmerings of light we have to guide our inquiries concerning them, are derived from such imperfect, and often fabulous, chronicles, as escaped the malicious policy of Edward I. of England, who, towards the end of the thirteenth century, robbed this country of all the historical monuments which, either by force or fraud, he could get possession of. We cannot pretend to ascertain, with exactness, the boundaries of the Scottish and Pictish empires. We learn, however, that

that the Scots had no settled dominions upon the south of Clyde, till many ages after the departure of the Romans. A nation of Britons possessed the south-west of Scotland, together with a part of the north of England, and formed the kingdom of Cumbria, which subsisted, though not without several revolutions, and frequent disturbances from its neighbours, to the beginning of the tenth century *. This kingdom comprehended the provinces of Galloway, Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham, besides the large archbishoprick of Glasgow, which extended through the greatest part of Cumberland. It was at last subdued by the English, who, in order to attach the Scottish king to their interest, made a present of it to Malcolm Prince of Scotland, to be held as a fief depending on the crown of England. And this was the foundation of the homage which the Scottish kings paid to the English for the dominions they possessed in the north of that kingdom. The Cumbrians, by this means, became incorporated with the

* Father Innes's history.

the Scots, and lost their original distinction: The name, however, of that people is still preserved, not only in Cumberland, now a province of England, but in the islands of Cumbrays in the mouth of Clyde, in many places of Clydesdale, and in Cumbernauld in Dumbartonshire, near the borders of the shire we are surveying.

Neither did the Picts obtain the constant and uninterrupted possession of the Lothians, till towards the end of the eight century. Till that time, the countries upon the south of Forth were generally subject to those powers who reigned in the north of England. The Saxon kingdom of Northumberland, which was erected near the middle of the sixth century, and continued for the space of 200 years, to be one of the most powerful of all the Heptarchies, extended from the Humber to the frith of Forth, and the town of Stirling. Tor, or Thor, from whom the name of Thursday, the fifth day of the week, is derived, was one of the chief deities of that people, whom, before they acknowledged the Christian faith, they worshipped in groves and high places. Some memorials of that wor-
ship

ship are thought to be still preserved in the names of fundry places in those parts ; as in Corstorphine, near Edinburgh, Torphichen, and Torben in West Lothian, and Torwood in the shire we are surveying.

In those ages, that tract of country now called Stirlingshire, was situated upon the confines of no less than four kingdoms ; it had the Northumbrian and Cumbrian dominions upon the south, and those of the Scots and Picts upon the north ; probably it belonged sometimes to one, sometimes to another, for they were perpetually making encroachments upon each other ; nor could those who lay upon opposite banks of the Forth commit mutual hostilities, without taking their rout through this shire. A country so liable to be harrassed by frequent marches and rencounters, must have been but very thin of inhabitants, and little better than a desert.

Bede, who lived in the eight century, mentions a town called Guidi, which was situated upon the frith of Forth * ; Bucha-
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* Bede, lib. 1. cap. 12.

nan is of opinion that this was the ancient Camelon near Falkirk †. Bede, however, places Guidi about the middle of the frith, whereas Camelon is situated some miles beyond its western termination. It is probable, that that venerable historian, having seldom or never been in Scotland, and living in a dark age, when his information could not be the most perfect, hath committed several errors in his account of that country, as Cambden, who lived in a later age, and had better means of information, hath evidently done. If we explain Bede literally, Guidi stood in the midst of the frith; ‘*Orientalis (Sinus) habet in medio sui urbem Guidi.*’ No island now appears in the frith, that can afford a situation to a town; upon Inch-keith, and Inch-garvie, are the remains of fortifications erected little above two centuries ago; and upon Inchcolm are the ruins of a stately monastery founded by Alexander I. near the beginning of the twelfth century; but these islands are all of so small an extent, that we cannot

† Buch. hist. lib. i.

not so much as imagine that Guidi stood upon any of them. Our author, whose style is far from being pure, and, on that account, often not very intelligible, without doubt intended to signify, that that town stood about the middle of the coast, though, whether upon the north or south, we are left in the dark.

Near the parish church of Logie, two miles north from the town of Stirling, are several large stones standing erect, as also some near the church of Alva, which appear to have been fixed there in very ancient times, and were no doubt intended to perpetuate the memory of an important transaction which had happened in those parts. It is well known to have been a custom of the old Scots, to erect large stones in fields of battle, either as memorials of a victory, or to preserve the knowledge of the spot in which any of their eminent warriors had fallen. This is often mentioned in the works of Ossian. That bard himself, and Toscar, one of his brothers, were sent by Fingal their father, to raise a stone upon the banks of the stream of Crona, in order to perpetuate the
memory

memory of a victory which he had some time before obtained there. Such monuments are still to be seen in almost every shire. Two stones stand to this day in the field near Stirling, where Randolph, Earl of Murray, and Lord Clifford the English general, had a sharp rencounter, the evening before the great battle of Bannockburn; and, so late as the battle of Killicrankie, the highlanders reared up a large stone in the spot where Claverhouse their commander fell. Of what event the stones we are now taking a view of are monuments, cannot with certainty be determined. When the national enmity that had long subsisted between the Scots and Picts arose to so great a height in the ninth century, that one of those kingdoms must fall, several fierce and bloody battles were fought, before it was finally decided, who was to give laws to Scotland. One of these battles was fought near the river Forth. Kenneth II. who at that time occupied the throne, commanded the Scottish army, which he assembled in the neighbourhood of Stirling, in order to avenge the death of king Alpin his father, who,

who, having been taken prisoner in a former action, had been basely murdered by the Picts. Before they had time to march from the place of rendezvous, they were attacked by the Picts, aided by some auxiliaries from England; the combat was fierce and bloody, but the victory at last fell to Kenneth, who pursued the flying enemy with great slaughter, and drove many of them into the Forth*. As the castle and town of Stirling were at that time in the hands of the Picts†, the rendezvous of Kenneth's army, and the battle, must have been upon the north side of the river; and, as every circumstance of that action leads us to conclude, that it happened near the spot where those stones stand, we are strongly inclined to consider them as monuments of it. The conjecture too is farther confirmed, from a tract of ground in the neighbourhood, which, from time immemorial, hath gone by the name of *Cambuskenneth*, that is, the field or creek of Kenneth, upon which the noble monastery of the same name stood.

After

* Boet. lib. 10.

† Ibidem.

After the overthrow of the Pictish empire, the shire of Stirling, with all the country upon the south side of the Forth, was for some years under the dominion of the Northumbrian Saxons. Of this revolution we shall speak more fully, when we come to give the history of the castle and town of Stirling.

The greatest part of this shire wears the marks of a late cultivation. Besides the obstacles to agriculture, arising from its local situation, which exposed it to so frequent military marches and rencounters, a forrest, perhaps a wing of the Caledonian, long continued to extend over much of it, many vestiges of which remain unto this day. The Torwood, and that of Callendar, with many banks of natural timber, still subsist; and stumps of trees, with much brushwood, are to be seen in many fields, which are now cultivated, and tolerably fertile.

We leave those dark and unsatisfying speculations, to take a view of more recent and certain transactions, which have happened in this shire: This we shall attempt, by casting our eye upon the accounts which
authentic

authentic records, or approved historians, have given of those transactions; and, at the same time, upon the fields which were the scenes of them; sometimes too, by calling in probable tradition to our aid.

S E C T. VI.

The Abbacy of Cambuskenneth, and other Religious Houses.

IN 1124, David I. the youngest son of Malcolm Canmore, mounted the Scottish throne, which had been successively occupied by three of his brothers before him. This prince is celebrated on account of many valuable qualities. By his valour, he not only defended the kingdom against the hostile attempts of England, but made several successful inroads upon that nation; by his wisdom, he established the most salutary laws for the internal government of his own dominions, and the administration of justice amongst his subjects. To him we are indebted for that system of laws which, from the two first words of it, goes
by

by the name of *Regiam Majestatem*. His military prowess, and political talents, were also accompanied with great ardor of devotion, according to the religious system of those times, which had degenerated into the rankest superstition; this led him so far into the common error of the age, that, by the erection and endowments of religious houses, in different parts of his dominions, he greatly impoverished the revenues of the crown. Not satisfied with repairing those that were decayed by age, or spoiled by the injuries of war, he raised so many new establishments of that kind, that, if we had not full evidence of his activity in civil and military transactions, we would be induced to believe, that he had employed his whole life in the affairs of religion.

Four bishopricks, eleven abbacies, two monasteries, besides fundry small religious fabrics, owed their foundations and first endowments to this Prince's mistaken notions of piety; and, in testimony of gratitude, the clergy, who found their interest so much advanced by the liberality of their sovereign,

sovereign, distinguished him by the title of St David.

Cambuskenneth, which, in process of time, became one of the most opulent and stately of the Scottish abbacies, was founded by that Monarch in 1147. Though it stood in the shire of Clackmannan, yet, as it had very large possessions in that which we are surveying, and was situated upon the borders thereof, an account of it can be reckoned no great deviation from our plan. It was situated half a mile north-east of the town of Stirling, upon the north bank of the Forth, and in a sort of a peninsula formed by that winding river. The adjacent fields had been the scene of some transaction, in which one of those Scottish monarchs, who bore the name of Kenneth, had been concerned; and from thence the place received the name of Cambuskenneth, which, as was observed in the preceeding section, signifieth the field or creek of Kenneth. The situation was both pleasant and convenient, in the midst of a fertile country, where the community could be supplied with all sorts of provisions, as grain

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of

of every kind, coal, and plenty of fish from the neighbouring river.

As soon as the house was fit to receive inhabitants, it was planted with a company of monks, or canons regular, who were translated from Aroise, near to Arras, in the province of Artois in France; they were of that order who observed the rules of St Augustine, an order afterwards so numerous in Scotland, as to possess no less than twenty-eight monasteries in the kingdom*.

This erection was sometimes called the monastery of Stirling, from its vicinity to that town; and the abbots are often designed, in the subscriptions of old charters, *abbates de Striveling*. The church which belonged to it was dedicated to St Mary; hence a lane leading from the high-street of that town to the monastery, still goes by the name of St Mary's wynd.

It will not, perhaps, be unacceptable to the reader to be presented with an English translation of the first charter of King David to the religious fraternity of this place.

‘ In

* Keith on religious houses.

‘ In the name of the Father, and of the
 ‘ Son, and of the Holy Spirit, amen. I
 ‘ David, by the grace of God, King of
 ‘ Scots, with the consent of Henry my son,
 ‘ and the Bishops of my realm, and with
 ‘ the confirmation and attestation of the
 ‘ Earls and Barons, do grant and confirm,
 ‘ in peaceable and perpetual possession, to
 ‘ the church of St Mary of Striveling,
 ‘ and the Canons regularly living therein,
 ‘ the subjects underwritten, viz. The lands
 ‘ of Cambuskenneth, and the privilege of
 ‘ fishing with one net in the water, betwixt
 ‘ these lands and Polmaise; also the lands
 ‘ of Colling, with the wood, and other just
 ‘ divisions thereof; the lands of Dunbode-
 ‘ num, (Tillibody), which lie between the
 ‘ water of the same lands, and the lands of
 ‘ Loching; forty shillings of my revenues
 ‘ of Stirling; the cane of one ship; one
 ‘ salt pan, together with as much land as
 ‘ usually belongs to one of my own salt
 ‘ pans; the tenth of my feus of the lord-
 ‘ ship of Stirling; the oblations which shall
 ‘ at any time be offered in the foresaid
 ‘ church; the island which lies between
 ‘ Polmaise

Polmaise and Dunbodium; twenty cu-
dreni of cheese out of my revenues of
Stirling. I further grant and confirm to
that church, the liberties and usages which
I have granted and confirmed to the rest
of the churches of my realm: It is there-
fore my will and pleasure, that, whatso-
ever the foresaid church possesseth at pre-
sent, or shall possess in time to come, shall
be possessed with as much quiet and free-
dom, as I myself possess the said lands,
saving the defence of my kingdom, and
the administration of regal justice, if the
prelate shall, upon any pretence, swerve
from his just allegiance. The witnesses
of this confirmation are, Earl Henry, the
Kings son; Robert, Bishop of St Andrew's;
Gregory, Bishop of Dunkeld; Herbert,
Elect of Glasgow; G. Abbot of Dumfer-
line; Abbot of St. Andrew's;
Robert, Prior of St. Andrew's; Gilbert,
Prior of Jeddewart; Edward, the Chan-
cellor; Earl Duncan; Leodulph de Brechin;
Hugh de Morville; Herbert, the Cham-
berlain; William de Summerville; Alan
de

de Foulis; William de Lindeff; Walter de Ridale *.

Besides the subjects mentioned in the original charter, King David made fundry other considerable donations to the monastery. He conveyed a grant of the church of Clackmannan, with forty acres of land, and the priests croft near that church; as also of a toft at Stirling, and another at Linlithgow; together with the tenth of all the fums duly payable for obtaining decreets in the courts of Stirlingshire and Calendar. At another time, he bestowed the farm of Kettleston, near Linlithgow, together with the lands of Malar, near Touch, and certain privileges in the wood of Keltor, now known by the name of the Torwood.

The original charter was confirmed by fundry succeeding monarchs, with the addition of other lands and privileges. Large donations were also made by private persons, in so much that, in a short time, the endowments of this erection became very great.

* Chartulary of Cambuskenneth, in the Lawyers library, Edinburgh.

great. Some of those donations bear, that they were granted *in puram eleemosynam*; others, that they were made, *pro salute animae* of the donators.

Bulls were also obtained from fundry Popes, protecting the churches, lands, and other privileges belonging to the monastery, and prohibiting, under pain of excommunication, all persons whatsoever from withholding from the Canons any of their just rights, or disturbing them in the possession of them.

The most curious of those bulls is that of Pope Celestine III. dated May 1195, as it enumerates the possessions and immunities of the monastery at that time.

It protects ‘ the farm of Cambuskenneth;
‘ the lands of Colling; the lands of Carfie
‘ and Bandeath, with the wood thereof;
‘ Tillibotherny; the island called Redinche,
‘ which is situated between Tillibotherny
‘ and Polmaise; the farm of Kettleston,
‘ with its milns; the lands which lie upon
‘ the bank of the Forth, between Pulmille
‘ and the road which leads down to the
‘ ships; a full toft in the burgh of Stirling,
‘ and

‘ and another in Linlithgow; one net in
 ‘ the water of Forth; twenty cuderni of
 ‘ cheese out of the King’s revenues at Stir-
 ‘ ling; forty shillings of the King’s reve-
 ‘ nues of the same place; one salt pan, and
 ‘ as much land as belongs to one of the
 ‘ King’s salt pans; the church of Clackman-
 ‘ nan, with forty acres of land, and its
 ‘ chapels and toft; the fishings of Carrie
 ‘ and Tillibotheny; the fishing between
 ‘ Cambuskenneth and Polmaise; the half
 ‘ of the skins and tallow of all the beasts
 ‘ slain for the King’s use at Stirling.’

The preceeding possessions and privi-
 leges were the donations of King David;
 those that follow have the names of the se-
 veral donators prefixed to them.

‘ From a grant of King Malcolm, the
 ‘ miln of Clackmannan, except the multure
 ‘ of the King’s table, as often as he shall
 ‘ come to that village; fifty shillings out of
 ‘ the customs of Perth. By a grant of King
 ‘ William, a full toft in the village of Perth;
 ‘ the church of Kinclething, with lands
 ‘ and other pertinents; the church of Tul-
 ‘ licultri, with all its pertinents; the church
 ‘ of

‘ of Kincardine, with the lands assigned
 ‘ it, and all its pertinents; the church of
 ‘ Gleninglese, with all pertaining to it. By
 ‘ a grant of Countess Ada *, one full toft
 ‘ in the burgh of Crail, and half a carru-
 ‘ cate of land, and common pasturage in
 ‘ Pethcorthing; one merk of silver out of
 ‘ her revenues of Crail; one full toft in the
 ‘ burgh of Haddington. By a grant of
 ‘ Robert, Bishop of St. Andrew’s, the church
 ‘ of Egglis, (St Ninian’s), with its cha-
 ‘ pels of Dunipace and Lethberth, and all
 ‘ its other chapels and oratories, and all
 ‘ other pertinents. By a grant of Richard,
 ‘ Bishop of Dunkeld, confirmed by the
 ‘ King, the church of Alveth, with its per-
 ‘ tinents. By a gift of Allan, the son of
 ‘ Walter †, a full toft in the burgh of Ren-
 ‘ frew,

* This lady was the widow of Prince Henry, son
 of King David, who died before his father. She was
 a daughter of the Earl of Warren, in England, and
 mother of two Scottish Monarchs, viz. Malcolm IV.
 surnamed the Maiden, and William, surnamed the
 Lion.

† He was eldest son to Walter, Lord high Steward
 of Scotland. Before his father’s death, he is usually
 designed

'frew, and one fishing in the water of the
 'same village. By a grant of Philip de
 'Lunding, half a carrucate of land, with a
 'meadow pertaining to it in Balcormack;
 'the pasturage of five hundred sheep, and
 'twenty cows, and a carrucate of land in
 'the farm of Binning. By a grant of Go-
 'teline, and William, the son of Thorald,
 'confirmed by the King, the church of
 'Kirkintilloch, with half a carrucate of
 'land, and all pertinents. From a grant
 'of Gilbert de Umfraville, two ox gangs
 'of the lands of Dunipace chapel.'

The bull likewise protects to the monas-
 tery, the tithes of all the lands which the
 monks should cultivate with their own
 hands, or which should be cultivated at the
 expence of the community; as also, the
 tythes of all the beasts reared upon the pas-
 tures of the community; and inhibits all
 persons from exacting these tithes. It like-
 wise empowers the fraternity to nominate

N

priests

designed *Alanus filius Walteri Dapiferi*. Upon his father's
 decease he succeeded to the office of high Steward,
 and from that time hath the designation of *Alanus fi-*
lius Walteri Dapifer.

priests or vicars to the several parish churches belonging to them, whom they were to present to the Bishop of the diocese, within whose jurisdiction these churches lay, that, upon finding them qualified, he might ordain them to the charge of the souls. These priests were to be answerable to the Bishop for the discharge of the spiritual functions, but to the monastery for the temporalities of their respective churches.

It moreover grants to the community the privilege of performing divine service, with a low voice, and shut doors, without ringing bells, in case of a national interdict.

Another bull of protection was granted by Innocent III. in 1201, in which, sundry parcels of lands at Innerkeithing, Duneglin, and Ayr, are mentioned, which had been conferred upon the monastery since the bull of Celestine.

During the space of two hundred years after its erection, the monastery was almost every year acquiring fresh additions of wealth and power, by donations of lands, tithes, patronages of churches, and annuities, proceeding from the liberality of Kings, noble-

noblemen, Bishops, and Barons, besides many rich oblations which were daily made by persons of every rank.

From the middle of the fifteenth century, there appears a visible decline of that spirit of liberality to those religious establishments, which, in preceeding ages, had been so vigorously exerted by all ranks. Donations became less frequent; and the immense possessions, which cathedrals and monasteries had acquired, began to be considered as public burdens; and that not without cause; for near the one half of Scotland was in possession of ecclesiastics. Several proprietors of land began to withhold payment of the tithes due out of their estates, till they were prosecuted, and decreets were obtained against them in the civil courts. John Lord Fleming, chamberlain of Scotland, under the regency of the Duke of Albany, in the minority of James V. relying, no doubt, upon his great power and influence, withheld, for seven years, payment of the tithes of his lands in Kirkintilloch, which amounted to thirty-three bolls of meal, and three bolls of barley.

ley yearly. He was prosecuted at the instance of the community in 1523, and made a composition for bygone arrears, at the rate of eight shillings four pennies Scots per boll. Much about the same time, the feuers and tenants of Kilmarnock were prosecuted for the tithes of their lands, which amounted to a large quantity of victual yearly*.

Two Priories belonged to the abbacy, which were,

1st, That of Insula Sancti Colmoci, or Inch Mahome, situated upon a small island in the loch of Monteith in Perthshire, which from thence is sometimes called the loch of Inch Mahome. This priory is said to have been founded by Murdoch Earl of Monteith, who was killed at the battle of Duplin in 1332; it is, however, more probable that he had only repaired it, or bestowed some considerable donation upon it; and, on that account, was looked upon as its second founder: For Adam Prior de L'isle de Saint Colmock is named amongst those

* Chartulary.

those who swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296. This priory was united, by James IV. to the chapel-royal of Stirling, and afterward bestowed *in commendam*, by James V. upon John Lord Erskine.

2d, Rosneth, in the shire of Dumbarton, which had been founded by the old Earls of Lennox, in honour of the Virgin Mary; it was also united to the chapel-royal of Stirling by James IV*.

The first abbot of Cambuskenneth was called Alfridus; but of him and his successors, for three centuries, we have found nothing memorable.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century, we find the abbots of this place frequently employed in important national transactions, or advanced to the highest civil offices.

The abbot of Cambuskenneth is named among those who, in 1423, were sent into England by Murdoch Duke of Albany, to negotiate a treaty concerning the ransom of James I. who had long been detained a
captive

* Keith on religious houses.

captive in that kingdom, and in whose liberty the negociation terminated *.

Henry, abbot of Cambuskenneth, after having given proofs of his political abilities in an embassy to England, was, in 1493, raised to the office of high treasurer of Scotland, which he held only a short time †. The cause of his removal from it is not known; but a discharge, under the great seal, of his intromissions while in that office, is inserted in the chartulary of that abbacy, under the title of ‘Acquitancia
‘Henrici abbatis de Cambuskenneth, de
‘officio thesaurarii, vicesimo sexto die
‘mensis Augusti 1495.’ He died in 1502, having held the abbotsip above thirty years.

He was succeeded by David Arnot, formerly archdeacon of Lothian ‡; who, after
having

* Crawford’s lives of state officers. † Idem.

‡ The see of St Andrew’s, besides the great district of Fife, comprehended the Merse, the three Lothians, and a part of Stirlingshire. So large a diocese, being too heavy for the inspection of the bishop alone, he found it necessary to have an ecclesiastic under him, who had
the

having been six years at the head of the abbacy, was, in 1509, preferred to the bishoprick of Galloway, to which the deanry of the chapel-royal of Stirling was annexed*.

The next abbot was Mr Patrick Panther or Panter, who was reckoned one of the most accomplished scholars of that age, as well as an able statesman; he was secretary to James IV. who also raised him to the dignity of a privy counsellor. To his pen the Latin epistles of that monarch were indebted for that purity and elegance of style, which distinguished them from the barbarous compositions of the foreign princes with whom he corresponded. He was also appointed preceptor to the King's natural son, Alexander Stewart, afterwards archbishop of St Andrew's, whose uncommon progress in

the charge of the parts upon the south of Forth, and was called the archdeacon of Lothian. For the same reason, the bishop of Glasgow employed a clergyman in the southern parts of his extensive diocese, who was called the archdeacon of Teviotdale.

* Keith's hist. of Scottish bishops.

in literature is so much celebrated by Erasmus, under whose tuition he sometime was. In the minority of James V. Mr Panther was thrown into prison, upon a suspicion of having been concerned in treasonable designs against the Duke of Albany, at that time governor; but no proof of his guilt appearing, he was in a short time released, and pitched upon, together with the famous Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, and fundry other persons of eminence, to accompany the Duke into France; whether he went in 1516, in order to renew the ancient league betwixt that kingdom and Scotland. He was at that time left *charge des affaires* at the French court, where he died in 1519. According to Dempster, he wrote a book, intitled *politicae observationes*, which he dedicated to James IV. for whose use it was chiefly designed; but that composition is lost*.

To Mr Panther succeeded Mr Alexander Miln, who had formerly been a Canon of Dunkeld. He was employed in fundry negotiations

* Mackenzie in Bishop Leslie. Crawford's state officers.

gotiations with England by James V.; and, when that monarch erected the court of session in 1532, Mr Miln, on account of his great knowledge of the civil and canon laws, was pitched upon to be the first president thereof. He wrote a history of the Bishops of Dunkeld, which is said to be still extant in manuscript; he died in 1542 *.

Mr David Panther, said to have been a nephew, or some other near relation of the above Mr Patrick, was commendator of this abbacy, in the latter end of the reign of James V. and the minority of Queen Mary. His first office in the church, was that of vicar of Carstairs near Lanark; afterwards he was prior of St Mary's Isle in Galloway; next commendator of Cambuskenneth; and last of all he was raised to the see of Ross in 1552. He was an accomplished scholar, and admirably skilled in the Latin language; as he had been assisting to his friend, Mr Patrick Panther, in penning the letters of James IV. so it is probable, that those of James V. were indebted to him for
O their

* Keith.

their elegance and purity; for he was principal secretary of state, and a privy counsellor, in the latter end of that King's reign, which offices he continued to hold in the infancy of Queen Mary. He was a strenuous opposer of the reformation; was much employed in foreign negotiations, which occasioned him to be frequently abroad; but the ability and success with which he managed those public transactions, gained him great esteem at court. He died of a lingering illness in the town of Stirling in 1558 †.

Much civil as well as sacred business was transacted in religious houses. In 1308, Sir Niel Campbell, Sir Gilbert Hay, with other barons, having met at Cambuskenneth, entered into an association to defend the liberty of their country, and the title of Robert Bruce to the crown, against all enemies of whatever nation; to which they not only affixed their subscriptions and seals, but swore upon the great altar.

The Scottish Kings transacted business almost as often in monasteries as in palaces.
Many

† Ibidem.

Many charters are still extant, which were granted by different sovereigns at Cambuskenneth; it was also the place of the meeting of sundry conventions of parliaments.

In 1326, the whole clergy, earls, and barons, with a great number of an inferior rank, having convened in the abbacy, swore fealty to David Bruce, as heir apparent to the crown, in presence of Robert his father; as also to Robert Stewart, grandson of the King, as the next heir, in the event of David's death without issue. At the same time, a marriage was solemnized betwixt Andrew Murray of Bothwell, and Christian Bruce, sister to King Robert*.

At that meeting too, an agreement was entered into betwixt the King on the one part, and the earls, barons, freeholders, and communities of burghs on the other, whereby the King obtained a grant, during his life, of the tenth penny of all the revenues belonging to laymen in the kingdom, both within and without the burghs†.

It

* Fordun lib. 13. cap. 12.

† Abercromby.

It hath been observed, that this is the first parliament in which burgesſes are mentioned, as having a ſeat. Under the feudal governments, that order of men had long been deemed of too mean a rank to be allowed a place in the national councils. In England, however, burgesſes had formed a part of the legiſlative power, near half a century before the reign of Robert Bruce *. It is not, indeed, certain, whether as yet they were conſidered as a conſtituent part of the legiſlature in Scotland, or only permitted to vote in what immediately concerned themſelves, no expreſs mention being made of the three eſtates till the next reign ; but, though they were not, in the reign of Robert, allowed a conſtant ſeat in the national council, yet the principles of both policy and equity ſuggeſted to that ſage monarch, that, when they were to be taxed for the ſupport of government, it was proper they ſhould be called to give their conſent, by being repreſented in that diet of parliament, at leaſt, which taxed them.

During

* Hume's hiſtory of England.

During the wars with England, in the reign of David Bruce, the monastery was pillaged of all its most valuable furniture. The books, vestments, cups, and ornaments of the altar, were carried off. In order to the reparation of that loss, William Deland, Bishop of St. Andrew's, made a grant to the community of the vicarage of Clackmanan *.

In 1559, the monastery was spoiled, and a great part of the fabric cast down by the reformers, who, though their views were laudable, yet, in several instances, proceeded to the execution of them in a tumultuary manner: A circumstance almost unavoidable in every revolution. Several of the monks embraced the reformation, but, on that account, had their portions prohibited by the Queen-regent †.

Monasteries were places of such general resort, that they were often the stage of mercantile transactions, as well as of those that were sacred. The great concourse of
people

* Chartulary.

† Spottiswood. Knox.

people that usually assembled around religious houses upon holy days, required provisions for their refreshment. This suggested the idea of a gainful trade to traffickers, who repaired thither, not only with victuals and drink, but also brought along with them different articles of merchandize, which they disposed of amongst the crowd. This was the original of fairs. Hence *feria*, which originally signified a *festival*, came also to signify a *fair*; and the old fairs have generally their name from some popish saint, near whose festival they were held. In 1529, a boat, returning to Stirling from one of those solemnities at Cambuskenneth, having been over loaden, sunk in the river, whereby fifty persons of rank, besides many others, were drowned *.

Mr David Panther was the last ecclesiastic who possessed this lucrative abbotskip. During the commotions which accompanied the reformation, church-benefices were often seized upon by those in power, without any lawful authority. John, Earl of Marr, afterwards regent, assumed the disposal

* M'Kenzie's lives, vol. 2. p. 578.

posal of the revenues of Cambuskenneth, if he did not actually possess a considerable part of them. He had, during the reign of James V. been appointed commendator of Inch Mahome, a priory dependent upon that abbacy. After the reformation had taken place, we find Adam Erskine, one of his nephews, commendator of Cambuskenneth. Moreover, the Earl himself carried off the stones of the fabric to build his own house, still called Marr's-work, in the town of Stirling.

In 1562, by virtue of an order from Queen Mary, and her privy council, an account was taken of all the revenues belonging to cathedrals, abbacies, priories, and other religious houses, that stipends might be modified to the reformed clergy, who were to have a third of the benefices. According to that account, the revenues of Cambuskenneth were as follows. Nine hundred and thirty pounds, thirteen shillings, four pence half-penny, Scots money; eleven chalders, eleven bolls, two firlots of wheat; twenty-eight chalders, twelve bolls, three firlots, three pecks, two lippies of bear; thirty-

thirty-one chalders, six bolls, three firlots, three pecks, two lippies of meal; nineteen chalders, fifteen bolls, three firlots, three pecks, two lippies of oats. In whole, ninety-one chalders, fifteen bolls, one firlot, two pecks, two lippies *.

No mention is made of the numerous casualties; nor, is it probable, that the whole revenue, once pertaining to the house, is contained in this account. Great dilapidations had been made upon benefices, not only by powerful laymen, who had seized upon portions of ecclesiastical benefices, during the commotions of those times, but also by the popish clergy, who, in view of a change of religion, had disposed of parts of the revenue.

The revenues of Inch Mahome, which was an appendage of the abbacy, were likewise considerable; namely, two hundred and thirty-four pound Scots; seven chalders of bear; fifty-nine chalders, thirteen bolls, one firlot, three pecks, two lippies of meal †.

After the establishment of the reformed religion, James VI. considering himself as proprietor

* Appendix to Keith's church history. † Ibid.

proprietor of the temporality of benefices, that is, the church-lands, erected several abbacies and priories into temporal lordships, in behalf of men of interest, or in high favour, who thereby came to have the same title to those lands which the religious houses had formerly. But, as the revenues of the crown suffered greatly by those erections, the temporality of all church benefices was, by an act of parliament in 1587, annexed to the crown. James, notwithstanding, still continued to make new erections, which were declared null in 1592, with an exception of such as had been made in favour of the Lords of parliament. After the accession of that monarch to the crown of England, the temporality of Cambuskenneth, together with that of Dryburgh, and the priory of Inch Mahome, was conferred on John Earl of Marr, son of the regent; that, to use the terms of the grant, he might be in a better condition to provide for his youngest sons, whom he had by Lady Mary Stewart, who was a daughter of the Duke of Lennox,

P and

and a relation of his Majesty *. The barony of Cambuskenneth, in which the monastery was situated, was settled by the Earl upon Alexander Erskine, one of his sons; upon whose death, without issue, it came to Charles Erskine of Alva his brother, whose posterity continued in the possession of it till about thirty or forty years ago, when it was purchased by the town-council of Stirling for the benefit of Cowan's hospital, to which it still belongs.

The fabric of the abbacy was once large and extensive; but nothing of it remains at present, except a few broken walls, and the stair-case that led to the bellfry, which, having been lately whitened, is conspicuous at a great distance, and resembles a high tower. Some remains of the garden are also to be seen, and the burial-place, where James III. together with his Queen, was interred. No vestige of the church remains. One of the bells belonging to the monastery is said to have been for some time in the town of Stirling; but, as tradition goes, the finest was lost in the river as they were transporting it.

Lands

* Crawford's state officers.

Lands once belonging to the Abbacy of Cambuskenneth.

1. The lands of Cambuskenneth; 2. The lands of Colling *; 3. Bandeath; 4. Carlie; 5. Tillibody; 6. Redinch; 7. Lands of Kettlestone, with milns; 8. Lands upon the Forth, between Pullemiln † and the road leading down to the ships; 9. Tofts at Stirling, Perth, Linlithgow, Haddington, and Renfrew; 10. Forty acres, with a toft in Clackmannan, and the miln thereof; 11. Lands at Kinclaven; 12. Lands at Kincardine; 13. Half a carrucate, with a toft at Crail; 14. Half a carrucate, with a meadow at Balcormack; 15. A carrucate at Binning; 16. a carrucate in Kirkintilloch; 17. Two ox gangs in Dunipace; 18. Other lands in Dunipace; 19. Part of the lands of Menstrie; 20. Lands at Innerkeithen; 21. Lands in Duneglin; 22. Lands at Ayr; 23. The lands of Fintilloch in Strathern; 24. The lands

* These appear to be the lands in the parish of St Ninians, now called Collie or Cowie, upon the borders of which, at a place called Trosk, the Abbot of Cambuskenneth had a country-house.

† Supposed to be that which is now called the Burrow-mill, near Stirling.

lands of Cambusbarron; 25. The lands of Maldar, near Touch; 26. Lands, with milns, at Arrengosk; 27 The lands of Loching *.

Churches which, with their tithes and pertinents, belonged to it.

1. The church of Clackmannan, with its chapels; 2. The church of Kinkleven, with all its pertinents; 3. The church of Tillicultrie; 4. The church of Kincardine; 5. The church of Glenleafe; 6. The church of Egglis, afterwards called Kirktown, and now known by the name of St Ninian's, with its chapels of Larbert and Dunipace, and all its other chapels and oratories; 7. The church of Alveth, (Alva); 8. The church of Kirkintilloch; 9. The church of Tillibody, with its chapel at Alloa; 10. The church of Fortiviote; 11. The church of Kilmaronoch; 12. The church of Kinnoul; 13. The church of Lecroch, (probably Leckrop); 14. The church of Arrongosk; 15. The church of Kippen.

The patronage of many of these churches likewise belonged to the abbacy. When a church

* These were probably the lands near Greenyards, which are called the Lochens.

church was granted to a monastery, the community drew all the tithes, and other emoluments, and appointed a vicar to serve the cure, who had an allowance out of the small tithes for his maintenance. It appears, however, that often there was no worship in these churches at all.

Privileges and other casualties belonging to the monastery.

1. Fishing with one net in the river of Forth between Cambuskenneth and Polmaise;
2. The fishings of Karfie and Tillibody;
3. Fishing with one net in the river of Clyde near Renfrew;
4. One salt pan with the necessary quantity of land about it;
5. The half of the skins and tallow of the beasts slain for the King's use at Stirling;
6. The tenth of all sums paid for obtaining decreets in the courts of Stirling and Calantyr;
7. The kane or custom of one ship;
8. The tenth of the King's feus in the Lordship of Stirling;
9. Forty shillings yearly out of the customs of Perth;
10. Common pasturage in Pethcorthing;
11. A merk of silver out of the revenues of Crail;
12. The pastu-

pasturage of five hundred sheep and twenty cows at Binning; 13. The privilege of grazing a certain number of cows at Borland, near Kincairdine; 14. The tenth of the feus of Bothkennar, amounting to six chalders of grain, and eight pounds five pence Scots yearly; 15. An additional chalder of victual out of Bothkennar, by a grant of Sir William More; 16. A pension of an hundred shillings out of the church of Blare; 17. Forty shillings out of the King's revenues of Airth, besides the tenth of the feus; 18. Ten pounds out of the revenues of Plean; 19. Forty shillings out of the revenues of Stirling; 20. Twenty cuderni of cheese out of the revenues of Stirling; 21. Certain privileges in the Torwood; 22. All the oblations presented to the church of the monastery.

It is not a new observation, that the lands, which formerly belonged to religious houses are, at present, generally fertile. It is, however, a mistake, to ascribe this to the designing sagacity of the clergy, which led them to fix upon the best spots; for they seldom had the choice of the lands which
were

were conferred upon them. The donators gave those parts of their estates, which they themselves judged proper; and many of those lands are situated in soils, far from being naturally fertile; from whence it appears, that their fertility did not arise from any superior quality of soil, but from industry and cultivation. The monks were far from being unskilled in agriculture, and knew how to turn, to the best advantage, the donations that were made to them. Meliorations were carried on at the expence of the community; and, at times, the more robust members laboured with their own hands, and shared the toils of agriculture with their servants. Useful manual labours commonly filled up the vacancies of contemplation and devotion; nor had they at first degenerated into those vices of idleness, intrigue, and debauchery, by which they were so shamefully distinguished, in the ages immediately preceeding the reformation. Many of the lands which belonged to the regular clergy wear the marks of their industry to this day, being generally well laid down, and free of stones, which
had

had been carefully gathered out of them, and are often to be seen in heaps around these fields. The monastery of Cambuskenneth had a strong spur to agriculture, which, in all probability, extended likewise to other religious communities. The lands which they rendered arable at their own expence, were exempted from paying tithes to any cathedral or parish church.

Add to this, that church-lands were generally let, at moderate rents, to tenants who were seldom ejected when the lease expired, but received a new one. These tenants meeting with so great encouragement, and, moreover, being exempted from military services, and other burdens, to which the tenants of laymen were subjected, applied themselves to the cultivation of their farms, of which they considered themselves as, in some manner, proprietors.

Several abbots conformed to the reformed religion, and kept possession of their revenues; nor were those who did not conform immediately ejected, but continued to enjoy some parts of the benefice during life, if they did not incur a forfeiture for misde-

misdeameanors. At the death or forfeiture of the abbots, the possessions which pertained to them were, for the most part, either bestowed in pensions upon favourites at court, or erected into temporal lordships. The private monks had also an allotment during life, which was often so ill paid, that many of them were reduced to great want.

The Nunnery of Emmanuel, or Manuel.

This nunnery was situated in the very borders of Stirlingshire, upon the north bank of the river Avon, a mile above the bridge of Linlithgow. The walls of the chapel, which are of hewn stone, are still to be seen, as also the burial place, a part of which is washed away by the river. It was founded by Malcolm IV. surnamed the Maiden, in the year 1156, and consecrated to the Virgin Mary. It was possessed by nuns of the Bernardine, or Cistercian order, to whom belonged thirteen convents in Scotland. Besides the endowments bestowed by the royal founder, it received considerable donations from others, at different periods.

Q

King

King William, surnamed the Lion, made a grant of a tenth of all his revenues in the shire and borough of Linlithgow, both money and victual. Alexander II. made a donation of the milns of Linlithgow, with all their sequels and pertinents; and Roger de Avenel bestowed upon the holy sisters a chalder of wheat, to be paid by him and his heirs, out of his barns of Abercorn, at Christmas yearly. The Prioress of this place, whose name was Christina, swore fealty to Edward I. July 4. 1292 *, as did her successor, named Alice, at Linlithgow, in 1296 †. The nunnery had possessions in the shires of Edinburgh and Ayr, as well as in those of Linlithgow and Stirling, as appears by an order of Edward, to the sheriffs of these shires, to reinstate the prioress in possession of her lands, within their several jurisdictions, in consequence of her having sworn fealty to that monarch. When the list of ecclesiastical revenues was drawn up in 1562, those of Manuel amounted to fifty two pounds,

* Rhymer's faedera, tom. 2. p. 572.

† Keith on religious houses.

pounds, fourteen shillings, eight pence Scots; three chalders of beer, seven chalders of meal, with a large quantity of Salmon *. After the reformation it was given to the family of Callander. Near this nunnery, though upon the opposite side of the river, and in the shire of Linlithgow, lies the field of battle, which was fought between the Earl of Lennox and the Earl of Angus, in the minority of James V. in which the former was defeated and slain.

The Convent of Dominicans, or Black Friars, in Stirling.

The Dominican, which is one of the most considerable orders in the church of Rome, derived that name from its first founder Dominick Guzman, a native of Spain, and a zealous preacher against the Albigenes, in the beginning of the thirteenth century †. He hath obtained the appellation of saint; but his memory will ever be held in detestation by protestants, and

* Keith's appendix,

† Dupin's church history.

and all friends of the liberties of mankind, on account of his having been the contriver of the diabolical court of inquisition.

This order was brought into Scotland in the reign of Alexander II. and spread with so great rapidity, that, in a few years, it was possessed of above twenty convents in that kingdom. The brethren of this order were not confined to cloisters, as those called *monks* were, but travelled through the country preaching; from whence they are often called *fratres praedicatores*. According to the rules of the order, they were to enjoy no earthly possessions, except the spots upon which their convents stood; but were to subsist by pure alms, from whence they had the name of *Mendicants*. The garb which distinguished them, was a black cloth thrown over their shoulders; this gave them the name of *Black Friars*.

The Dominican convent at Stirling was founded by Alexander II. in 1233, and stood upon the east side of the lane leading from the present meal market, to the north side of the town, which is still called the *Friar wynd*, from its vicinity to it. The place

place of its situation was without the walls of the town.

The church belonging to the convent was, for above two hundred and fifty years, the chief place of worship for the inhabitants of the town of Stirling, and adjoining to it was the common burial-place; only those of rank were buried within the church. Duncan, Earl of Lennox, with his son in law, Murdoch Duke of Albany, and his two grandsons, Walter and Alexander Stewarts, who were all executed upon the Gowan-hill in 1425, were buried in the church of the Dominicans, upon the south side of the great altar. The person who pretended to be Richard II. king of England, and had been entertained under that character several years at the court of James I. dying in the castle in 1420, was interred in the same church, at the horn of the great altar. The spot where both the convent and burial place had their situation, hath long been employed as a garden, in which great quantities of human bones have often been found.

After

After the battle of Falkirk in 1298, Edward I. advanced to Stirling, where he staid two weeks, taking up his lodgings in the convent of Dominicans ; the Scots, in their retreat northward, having burnt the greatest part of the town *.

John Rough, who is mentioned in history as an eminent promoter of the reformation, and suffered martyrdom in England, in the reign of Queen Mary, was once a member of this convent. He entered into it at the age of seventeen, and, after having continued sixteen years, was called to be chaplain to the Earl of Arran, the governor, who afterwards renouncing the reformed religion, dismissed him and all who professed to favour the new opinions.

The convent was demolished by those who followed the Lords of the congregation, when they came to Stirling in 1559, in order to prevent the design of the Queen-regent, who intended to have planted that town with a garrison of French soldiers.

A

* Trivetii annales.

A much greater number of the friars than of the monks embraced the reformation. This was probably owing to their opportunities of more frequent converse with the world, which inspired them with more liberal sentiments, as well as to their having no possessions, which rendered them less attached to the old system.

*The Convent of Franciscans, or Gray Friars,
at Stirling.*

The Franciscans received their name from Francis, a merchant of Assise in Italy, who founded the order in the beginning of the thirteenth century, an age very fertile of religious orders. They were likewise mendicants, professing to possess nothing, but going about bare-footed, with wallets upon their backs, craving subsistence. Their habit was a coarse gray gown, with a rope about their loins, from whence they had the name of *Gray friars*.

The Franciscan convent at Stirling was situated in the higher parts of the town, near the present church, which belonged to it,

it, though it is difficult at present to point out the particular place of its situation. It was founded by James IV. in 1494. At the same time, the church, which is a stately Gothic fabric, was erected for the use of the convent; though, in process of time, it became the most frequented place of worship for the inhabitants of the town. That King, who was a noted libertine, pretended at times to great devotion, according to the superstitious system of those ages, and often underwent a voluntary penance in this convent, assisting at mass in the choir, and dining in the refectory amongst the brethren. During Lent too, retiring from all worldly business, he made it the usual place of his residence; and, upon Good Friday, was accustomed to dine on bread and water on his bare knees *.

This convent was demolished in 1559, at the same time with that of the Dominicans; but the church was left untouched; for, though the reformers generally destroyed the monasteries and convents of the regular

* Keith on religious houses.

gular clergy, which they considered as nurseries of idolatry and superstition, they spared parish-churches, as necessary to the maintenance of religion.

At the demolition of these convents, more wealth was found in them than was consistent with their avowed professions of poverty. That of the Gray-friars at Perth, which was also pulled down in 1559, was well provided, not only with the necessaries, but also with the delicacies of life. The furniture of the beds and tables were equal in finery to that of any of the nobility; and, though there were but eight persons in the convent, and it was about the middle of May, eight puncheons of salt beef*, and

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* So great a quantity of salt beef in the month of May, appears surprising, and supposes a very great store to have been laid up in the beginning of winter. But we must consider, that, in those days, when agriculture had made so small progress, there was no sown grass, little hay, straw, or any other provender for the subsistence of cattle through the winter; families were therefore obliged to slaughter their cattle, and salt them in the beginning of winter, before they became lean upon the common pasture, and to provide what would be sufficient

great store of other victuals were found in it *.

The Collegiate Church, or Chapel royal in the Castle of Stirling.

Besides monasteries and convents, which belonged to the regular Clergy, so called, because they professed strictly to observe the rules enjoined to their respective orders, there were twenty-six fraternities of secular Clergy in Scotland, called Colleges, which were governed by an Ecclesiastic, who went by the name of the Provost or Dean. These were endowed with large revenues, which generally arose from the uniting of several parish-churches together.

James III. taking up his chief residence in the castle of Stirling, erected there a college of secular priests, which he called the Chapel royal. This institution consisted of a Dean or Provost, an Arch-dean, a Treasurer

sufficient for domestic demands, till others had time to fatten next summer.

* Knox's History.

fur and Sub-dean, a Chanter and Sub-chanter, and other officers belonging to such establishments; moreover, he appointed a double set of these officers, so that there were sixteen ecclesiastics, and six singing boys belonging to it*.

As the expences necessary for maintaining the numerous officers of this institution, were very considerable, he annexed to it the revenues of the rich priory of Coldingham in the Merse, for which he obtained the authority of Pope Alexander VI.

In the list of ecclesiastical benefices drawn up in 1562, the revenues of the priory of Coldingham stand as follows; eight hundred, eighteen pounds ten shillings,

* Lindsay of Pitscottie gives the following singular reason for doubling these officers; that they should ever be ready, the one half to pass with the King, wherever he pleased, that they might sing and play to him and hold him merry; and the other half should remain at home in the chapel, to sing and pray for him and his successors. By the half who were to accompany his majesty for mirth, is undoubtedly meant the half of the singing boys and musicians, as James is well known to have been extravagantly fond of music.

lings, nine pence Scots ; six chalders, seven bolls, three firlots, two pecks of wheat ; nineteen chalders, twelve bolls, one firlot, two pecks of bear ; fifty five chalders, four bolls, one firlot of oats ; one chalder, four bolls and a firlot of rye ; three chalders, thirteen bolls, three firlots, two pecks of pease*.

This annexation proved one cause of the ruin of that unfortunate King. The priory of Coldingham had, for a long time, been holden by persons who were connected with the family of Hume ; on which account that family, considering it as belonging to them, strenuously opposed that annexation. The dispute appears to have lasted several years ; for one parliament had passed a vote annexing the priory to the chapel-royal, and a subsequent one enacted a statute prohibiting every attempt that was contrary or prejudicial to that annexation. The Humes, resenting the loss of so gainful a revenue, united themselves with the Hepburns, another powerful clan in the neighbourhood,

* Keith's appendix.

neighbourhood, under the Lord Hailes; and both families engaged to stand by each other, and not suffer the revenues of Coldingham to be possessed by any person who was not connected with one or other of them. The heads of both these families too, with their numerous vassals and retainers, joining the party that was disaffected to James upon other accounts, brought a considerable addition of strength unto it, and were pitched upon to lead the van of the army of the malecontents in the battle of Sauchy-burn, which proved fatal to that Monarch.

James IV. compleated this institution, which his father had begun; notwithstanding the opposition, yet the annexation of Coldingham took place. That Prince likewise annexed to the chapel the abbacy of Dundrenan in Galloway, the priories of Inch Mahome in Monteith, and Rosneth in Lennox; the parsonage of Dunbar; the lands of Cessnock in Airshire; the prebendaries of Spott, Waltame, Dunn, and Pinkerton; the churches of Dalmellington, and Alloa in Kyle, Coilton, Dalrymple, Kellie, Kirkmoir,

Kirkmoir, with other parishes, chapels, and lands, whose annual revenues were valued in the time of James VI. at a great sum.

The deanry or provostship of this chapel was annexed to the bishoprick of Galloway, the Bishops of which were called Deans of the King's chapel, and appointed confessors to the Queen. Besides their authority over their own diocese, they possessed a separate episcopal jurisdiction as Deans of the chapel. George Vaus was the first who was advanced to this office, having been Bishop of Galloway at the time of the erection. James VI. annexed the deanry to the bishoprick of Dunblain*.

The fabric of the chapel-royal, which stood upon the north side of the castle, at right angles with the parliament-house, was demolished in 1594 by King James VI. who erected, in the same spot, a more elegant chapel for the baptism of his son Prince Henry, which is still standing.

Besides these large erections, there were many small chapels, oratories, and chantories,

* Keith on religious houses.

ries, in different parts of the shire. The places where they stood commonly go by the name of Kirk-crofts or Chapel-lands, and are, for the most part, fertile and well cultivated grounds.

The monastery of Newbottle had considerable possessions in this shire. King David I. made a donation to that monastery of a salt-pan upon the lands of Calanter, with the privilege of fuel and common pasture in the wood of that name. The place where that salt-pan was situated still goes by the name of the Salt-pow. Adam de Morham, who appears to have had a large estate in those parts, granted to the same monastery a tract of land, called the Grange of Beresford, lying upon the south side of Carron; it is now known by the name of Abbots-grange, and is situated within the newly erected parish of Polmount. The Abbot had a country-seat in that place, some remains of which, together with those of the garden, are still to be seen*.

Sundry

* Writs of Newbottle.

Sundry parcels of land about Kinnaird and Stenehouse, together with the milns of the last named place, also belonged to that monastery *.

The monastery of Holyroodhouse had likewise possessions in this shire. David I. granted to it two ox-gangs of land, with a salt-pan in the parish of Airth †. In 1166, the Bishop of St Andrew's made a donation of the church of Eccles-brae or Falkirk, with some lands in its neighbourhood. Sundry parcels of ground in Kinnaird, and upon the banks of Carron, eastward of Stenehouse, also belonged to that monastery ‡.

The Knight-templars had possessions in Denny, the Carse of Falkirk, and other parts of this shire. Keith, in his account of religious houses, mentions a place in Stirling-shire called Oggerstone, where that order had a house and castle; but we have not been able to discover where that place lies.

S E C T,

* Writs of Newbottle.

† Maitland's history of Edinburgh.

‡ Writs of Newbottle.

S E C T. VII.

The Battle of Stirling in 1297.

THE extinction of the royal line of Scotland, by the death of Alexander III. who was killed, in the prime of life, by a fall from his horse at Kinghorn in March 1285, opened a scene of confusion in that kingdom, which brought it to the very brink of ruin *. The next heir to the
S crown

* At that time lived Thomas Learmont of Earlstown, commonly called Thomas the Rhymer, on account of his unintelligible rhapsodies, which are still extant. Of him many strange stories are told; and the following among the rest. The day before King Alexander's death, having been asked by the Earl of March, What sort of weather the next day would produce? He replied that, before next day at noon, such a tempest should blow, as Scotland had not felt for many years. Next forenoon proving remarkably fine, the Earl told him, by way of reproach, that he was a false prophet. He answered, that noon was not yet over. In the mean time arrived an express to inform the Earl of the King's death; upon which Thomas said, This is the tempest I foretold, and so it shall prove to Scotland.

crown was a Princess, scarcely three years of age, grandchild to the late King, by his daughter who had been married to the King of Norway. That infant, commonly called the Maiden of Norway, was immediately acknowledged as Queen by the states, who at the same time established a regency for the management of affairs during her minority. But her death, in 1290, threw the kingdom into a general consternation, and left the succession altogether perplexed and uncertain. The history of the different competitors for the empty crown, upon this occasion, is foreign to our purpose. John Baliol and Robert Bruce were generally allowed to stand foremost in the list; but, as it admitted of a dispute to which of them the preference belonged, they both agreed, with the consent of the Scottish nobility, to refer the decision thereof to Edward I. of England. A malicious policy, which, in all ages, has too much guided the councils of Princes, suggested to that monarch, that he had now in his hands the most favourable opportunity of gratifying his own ambition. Instead, therefore, of acting the
part

part of a fair arbitrator, he sought to avail himself of the present distracted state of a free people, in order to enslave them. He called in question the independency of Scotland, pretending that that kingdom was a fief of his crown, and subjected to all the conditions of a feudal tenure. Both the competitors, with a spirit truly mean, acknowledged his claim, as did also many of the greatest subjects. Having, by this means, established his paramount power over Scotland, he gave decision in favour of Baliol *; who, thereupon, did homage, and swore fealty to him as his liege lord. Bruce, though he did not cordially acquiesce in the sentence, found himself not in a capacity to make any successful opposition. Edward, however,

* Though Edward was none of those few monarchs who strictly adhere to the dictates of law and equity, when they stand in the road of their ambition, yet, it appears, that, in this decision, he proceeded upon the rules which had been received in England with regard to the mode of succession in indivisible fees. And civilians seem not to have clearly elucidated the question, What mode of succession, in those cases, had obtained in Scotland?

however, found his new vassal not so pliant to his orders as he required. Baliol, either ashamed of his former pusillanimity, by which he had lost the affection and confidence of his subjects, or sensibly galled with the oppressive yoke he found wreathed about his own neck, began to attempt a more spirited behaviour; though the general tenor of his conduct bore marks of a feeble and imprudent mind. After having, in repeated instances, discovered a failure of respect to his rigid and imperious lord, he at length expressly renounced his allegiance to him, and made some feeble exertions to establish his own independence. This so provoked the haughty mind of Edward, that he immediately proceeded to every act of tyrannical rage. He invaded Scotland with a numerous army; and, after having defeated Baliol in battle at Dunbar, he forced him to a formal surrender of himself and his kingdom, and then shut him up in the tower of London. He filled the garrisons with English soldiers; carried many of the nobility to England, where they were detained as securities for the peaceable behaviour

haviour of the rest; required all ranks to swear fealty to him, to which the present necessity obliged the greatest part to yield *: He seized the public archives; and, getting possession of many historical monuments, that tended to prove the antiquity or freedom of Scotland, carried some of them home with him, and, with a spirit truly Gothic, commanded the rest to be destroyed. He also appointed a lieutenant, with other officers of state, in that kingdom, and settled the government of it as if it had been a province of England.

The Scottish nation were partly so blind to their own interest, partly so intimidated, that,

* The names of those of every rank who, upon that occasion, professed submission to Edward, amounting to an amazing number, were inserted in four large rolls, called Ragman-roll, which are preserved in the Tower of London. However, the facility with which so many of the Scots were induced to take repeated oaths of fealty to Edward, which they intended to break upon the first favourable opportunity, is not perhaps so much to be ascribed to necessity, and the influence of superior force, as to the genius of the popish religion, which sapped all the foundations of morality, and proclaimed a licence to crimes, by establishing the delusive doctrine of absolution for a small pecuniary consideration.

that, at first, they silently acquiesced in Edward's claims, and beheld the various acts of his oppressive usurpation, without making any vigorous attempts to preserve their own independence. At length a patriot hero stepped forth to stem this tide of foreign tyranny, and assert the liberties of his native country. This was the renowned William Wallace, who was descended from an ancient, though not opulent, family in the west of Scotland *, and endowed with great sagacity of mind, and an uncommon strength of body. He beheld, with deep concern, the fetters which were wreathed about the neck of his countrymen; and had the honour of being the first who, upon this

* Some say he was the son of Andrew Wallace of Craigie, in Ayr-shire; others, of Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, near Paisley. The settlement of his genealogy can be nowise interesting to the public, though it may appear of so great importance to these two families, as to engage their inquiry which of them has the honour of being most nearly related to so renowned a person. According to the most generally received accounts, he was second son of Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, by his wife, who was a daughter of Ranold Crawford, sheriff of Ayr.

this occasion, rekindled the almost extinguished spark of liberty among them. His first appearance was in no higher a character than that of a volunteer for the service of his country, the freedom of which was his ruling passion *. Having communicated his sentiments to a few friends, he found them animated by the same spirit, and disdaining the claims of England as much as he did. An illustrious fraternity was soon formed, with the laudable view of delivering Scotland from thralldom, and restoring her independence. And, though they acted not under the sanction of public authority, yet the circumstances of the nation will sufficiently vindicate their conduct to all the genuine sons of freedom.

Wallace having the direction of this association, began the execution of his designs
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* He had often in his mouth the following monkish distich, composed by his uncle, who is said to have been parson of Dunipace.

*Dico tibi verum, libertas est optima rerum,
Nunquam servili sub nexu, vivite fili.*

FORDUN.

by attacking and cutting off small bodies of the English, whom he found traversing the country. Next he proceeded to attack the forts which they possessed, and carried many of them by storm. Frequent exploits of that kind soon rendered his name conspicuous; and every advantage he gained, both gave new spirits to his little band, and encouraged others to join him, till at length he found himself at the head of a considerable army.

He had not, indeed, the happiness of seeing his patriotic design so generally supported as it deserved. Indolence or timidity prevented a part of the nobility from countenancing him; envy and jealousy led others of them to thwart all his measures. His exploits, however, though they were not crowned with final success, preserved the spirit of liberty, and paved the way to that independence, which the nation, not long after his death, obtained.

Sundry places in Stirlingshire are still memorable for having been the scenes of this hero's exploits. The Torwood was a place where he and his party often held their

their rendezvous, when they were engaged in any expedition in that part of the country, and to which they retreated in case of danger. In that wood is still to be seen an aged oak, well known by the name of *Wallace tree*; which having, even at that time, been so much decayed, as to be rotten and hollow within, is said to have often afforded a lodging to him and a few of his trusty friends. This is supposed to have been one of the largest trees that ever grew in Scotland. It is now almost quite decayed; but, from its ruins, appears to have been once of an uncommon size; the stump, which remains, is no less than eleven or twelve feet in diameter. It stands upon the summit of a small eminence, which is surrounded upon all sides with a swamp or bog; a rugged causeway runs from the south through the bog, and leads up to the tree; some vestiges of it are also discernible, surrounding the tree in a circular form, which tempt us to conjecture, that this oak is of a very high antiquity; and that, having been much frequented by Druidical priests, amongst whom that kind of tree was

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held sacred, the causeway had been laid for the convenience of their approach unto it, in order to perform the rites of their religion.

At Gargunnock the English had a small fort called the *Peel*, in which a garrison was stationed, to watch the passage of the Forth at the ford of Frew; in its neighbourhood; Wallace, with a small party, attacking this fort, carried it by storm. The same success attended him, in an assault upon the tower of Airth, which was garrisoned by English soldiers, whom he put to the sword*. The square tower, which makes a part of the present house of Airth, upon the west, is said to be the same in which that bloody exploit was performed.

Edward was at that time in France, being engaged in a war with that nation; but he sent over a very express commission to the Earl of Surry and Suffex, whom he had appointed lieutenant in Scotland †, and
Hugh

* Blind Hary, B. IV.

† This nobleman is called by some the Earl of Warren, by others the Earl of Surry; but his real name and title, as appears from the *Fædera Anglicana*, was John de Warrenna Earl of Surry and Suffex.

Hugh Cressingham the treasurer, to suppress the insurrection, which he understood had taken place there. Upon which they raised an army of fifty thousand foot, besides a thousand horse, and advanced towards Stirling, in quest of Wallace, who was in the north, engaged in reducing the English fortresses. But, having obtained timely intelligence of the formidable armament that was advancing against him, he quickly collected an army of ten thousand men, and with great celerity marched southward, in order to dispute with the enemy the passage of the Forth.

When the English came within sight of Stirling, they beheld the Scottish army posted on a hill near the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, now known by the name of *Abbey Craig*. The two armies continued some time in full sight of each other, upon opposite banks of the river. The English generals sent two Dominican friars to offer peace to Wallace and his followers, upon their submission: Wallace replied, that the Scots had come to that place ready to fight, and not to sue for peace; that the independency

dency and freedom of their country was the great object they had in view, and were prepared to defend with their swords. He concluded with a challenge to the English to advance. This answer so provoked the English commanders, that they immediately prepared to cross the river, in order to attack the Scots *.

The bridge over the Forth was, at that time, of timber, and stood half a mile higher up the river than the present one; some remains of the stones of the pillars which supported the wooden beams, are still to be seen, at a place called Kildean. Though this bridge was so narrow that only two could pass it a-breast, the English generals proposed to transport their numerous army by means of it. Only one Lundy strenuously opposed that method of crossing the river, pointing out to them a ford near at hand, where they could easily pass sixty a-breast †. He suspected a secret snare had been laid by Wallace, whose genius he knew

* Hemingford.

† Ibidem.

knew to be very fertile of stratagems, and his sagacity too great to risk a battle, with so small an handful of men, without having made some unseen preparations to counter-balance the vast inequality of numbers. No regard, however, was paid to his opinion, though the event shewed how just it was.

The English army continued to cross the bridge, from the dawn of the morning to eleven o'clock in the forenoon, without any impediment. But, by that time, the Scots had advanced to attack those who had got over, and had also sent a strong detachment to stop the passage of the bridge, which they effected. This caused so great a confusion amongst the English, that many of those, who were at that time upon the bridge, attempting to return, were driven into the water and drowned *.

Some writers also affirm, that the bridge suddenly gave way, either by the great weight upon it, or rather by a stratagem of Wallace, who, foreseeing that the enemy would pass that way, had ordered the main
beam

* Hemingford.

beam to be sawed so artfully, that the removal of one pin or wedge caused the downfall of the whole; and had stationed a man beneath it in a basket, in such a manner, as that, unhurt himself, he could execute that design, which was to be done upon a certain signal, said to be the blowing of a horn from the Scottish army * †.

By

* Blind Hary, b. 7. Buchan. lib. 8.

† References to the authority of a writer, held in so general contempt as Blind Hary, will, perhaps, draw a smile from several readers. That author, who was blind, wrote the actions of Wallace in Scottish metre. Many of his relations are altogether romantic; and he often attempts to give his hero the features of Homer's warriors; but we see no reason why his authority should be rejected, when he does not exceed the bounds of probability, nor contradict historians of reputation. He informs us, that he received his materials from a book written by Mr John Blair, who was chaplain to Wallace, and one of his constant attendants. In all capital facts he agrees with Fordun, and other historians, though he sometimes embellishes them with fanciful circumstances. So far are we from leaning entirely to the side of the English historians, whose errors are often very palpable, as their partiality is generally obvious, that we have no inclination to repudiate any Scottish writer, nor even tradition, unless they either contradict authors of reputation, or relate improbabilities.

By this means numbers fell into the river, and those who had passed were vigorously attacked by Wallace. They fought for a while with great bravery, under the conduct of Sir Marmaduke Twenge, an officer of noted courage and experience. The Scots at first made a faint of retreating; but soon facing about, gave the enemy a vigorous onset, while a party, who had taken a compass around the Abbay-craig, fell upon their rear. The English were at last entirely routed, and five thousand of them slain; amongst whom was a nephew of Sir Marmaduke Twenge, a youth of great hopes, whose death was generally lamented. Sir Marmaduke, with the rest, falling back to the river, crossed it with much difficulty. Some finding fords, plunged through with great precipitation, and others escaped by swimming *.

Cressingham was among the slain, having passed the bridge among the first, in full confidence of victory. He was an ecclesiastic; but, as it was common, in those times,

* Hemingford,

times, for such to possess civil offices, he had been advanced by Edward to the office of high treasurer in Scotland. He had rendered himself very detestable by rapine and oppression; but the Scots disgraced their victory, by the manner in which they treated his dead body. They flayed off his skin, and cut it in pieces, to make girths and other furniture for their horses *.

This battle was fought upon the 13th of September 1297. The scene of the action appears to have been about the place now called Corntown, and in a plain upon the north side of the river, opposite to the castle of Stirling. It was the most compleat victory that Wallace had ever gained in a regularly fought field; nor was his loss any way considerable, Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwel being the only person of note that was slain.

The Earl of Surry, who, with the rest of the English army, was upon the south side of the river, beholding this disaster, immediately retreated southward, after having

* Hemingford. Tyrrel.

ving set fire to what remained of the bridge, in order to prevent a quick pursuit from the victorious Scots. But he was greatly harrassed in his march by the Lord High Stewart, and the Earl of Lennox, who came upon him from behind the neighbouring mountains, where they had been posted in ambush, with a large body of men, in expectation of what had happened. Wallace too, having speedily crossed the river, soon joined them; and coming up with the main body of the retreating army at the Torwood *, a sharp action ensued, in which the Scots obtained the victory, and Surry himself escaped with great difficulty, being so closely pursued, that the historians of those times have been careful to inform us, that, when he arrived at Berwick, his horse was so fatigued that he could not eat †.

This signal victory raised the fame of Wallace, and struck the English with such terror, that they yielded up the forts they possessed, as soon as he appeared before them; and, in a few months, all the places

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of

* Blind Hary.

† Hemingford.

of strength in the kingdom were recovered, and scarce an Englishman was to be seen in the country.

The Scots also, looking upon him as the deliverer of their country, crouded to his standard, and an assembly of the states chose him to be general of the army, and guardian or protector of the kingdom under Baliol, who was still in a state of confinement *. This high office he executed with great dignity, though not without much envy and malevolent opposition from

* Historians generally affirm, that Wallace was elected protector or guardian of the kingdom by a convention of the states, though they do not fix the particular time of this election. Some too affirm, that his commission was confirmed by Baliol, which is far from being probable, when we recollect that, as that Prince was then in prison, such a step would have been highly imprudent, and could not fail to prove fatal to him, if it had been discovered by Edward. Others mention nothing at all of his having been chosen guardian; amongst whom is Buchanan, who only says that he had the title of *Prorex* among his own band of associates. Fordun gives him the title of *Custos*, but does not mention how he obtained it. Charters, and letters of protection to religious houses in England, have been quoted to prove his having been invested with the office of guardian. But in these he only styles himself *Dux exercitus Scotiae*.

from several of the chief nobility. He bore up, however, against all discouragements; and found as many friends of liberty, among the middling ranks of his countrymen, as not only supported him in maintaining the internal government of the kingdom, but also enabled him to make incursions upon England.

S E C T. VIII.

The Battle of Falkirk, in 1298.

TH E news of this northern revolution having reached Edward, caused him speedily listen to proposals of a truce, which had been made to him by France, that he might have leisure to reduce Scotland. In pursuit of that design he, immediately upon his arrival in England, assembled a numerous and well disciplined army, amounting, according to the common accounts, to above eighty thousand foot, besides a fine
body

body of cavalry, and most of them veteran troops, newly brought over from the French war. At the head of these he marched northward, having under him as general officers, Bohun Earl of Hereford, high-constable of England, Bigod Earl of Norfolk, chief Marshall, the Earl of Lincoln, and Antonius de Beck, the warlike Bishop of Durham. Robert Bruce, who afterwards mounted the Scottish throne, was also intrusted with a military command, being at that time an avowed partizan of England*. This numerous

* The Scottish writers are unanimous in asserting, that one of the Brucean family named Robert, was engaged upon the English side in this battle, though they are not agreed which of them it was; for there were three successively of the same name. By not considering this, some have been led to confound Robert the son of the competitor with Robert the King.

Robert Bruce, who stood in competition with Baliol for the crown, died in 1295, three years before the battle of Falkirk; his son, likewise named Robert, having been disobliged at an haughty reply of Edward, when, after the battle of Dunbar in 1296, he put him in mind of a promise he had made to him of the crown of Scotland, retired to the south of England; and it is certain he returned

merous host arrived at Templehiston, now known by the name of Kirkliston, two miles

turned not to Scotland for more than two years, yea it is doubtful whether he ever returned to it *.

It could therefore be no other than Robert Bruce junior, as he is called by the writers of those times, who afterwards sat with so much glory upon the Scottish throne, that accompanied Edward in this expedition.

A late annalist, who is justly intitled to that large share of the public esteem which he possesses, hath asserted, that Bruce had, before that period, acceded to the Scottish party. Edward had indeed entertained a jealousy of him, for which he had cause; but he had made his submission; and it appears, from undoubted record, that they were in terms of friendship upon the fourteenth November, 1297 †, no more than eight months before the battle. A groundless jealousy of Wallace is assigned as the reason of Bruce's activity against his country in this engagement. The English writers, who lived in those times, make no mention of Bruce, as accompanying Edward in this expedition; but Fordun, who lived very near that age, expressly affirms that he was in the battle. Those writers indeed speak of hostilities betwixt him and Edward, even before the return of that monarch to England. But as Edward was at least a month in Scotland after the battle, it is not improbable that Bruce, stimulated by the conference he had with Wallace and other causes, had, during that space, taken up arms against that monarch, or, at least by some part of his conduct,

* Fordun, Hemingford.

† Rhymer's foedera, tom. 2. p. 799.

miles south of Queensferry, where they encamped, and abode near a month, waiting for the arrival of the ships, which had been appointed to attend them, with provisions, but had been detained by contrary winds*.

In the mean time, the Scots were making vigorous preparations for their own defence, against so formidable an armament. An army of thirty thousand men, which had been collected by Wallace and other chieftains, rendezvoused in the neighbourhood of Falkirk, where they waited for the arrival of the enemy, having previously chosen the ground for the combat, in a situation which appeared advantageous, with

conduct, rendered himself suspected by him. We have the authority of Fordun to affirm, that the interview with Wallace operated so powerfully upon the mind of Bruce, as to convince him of the imprudent part he had acted, in siding with the English. So often did Bruce change sides in his younger years, and so great were his misfortunes in the first eight years of his reign, that, if he had died before the victory at Bannockburn, his character would doubtless have been transmitted as that of an unsteady man, and a rash and unfortunate adventurer.

* Hemingford, Trivet.

with a morafs, unpaſſable by cavalry, in front *, and, when the morafs ended, they had formed a fort of fortification, with palifadoes driven into the earth, and tied together with ropes †.

The ſcarcity of proviſions became ſo great in Edward's army, that he entertained thoughts of returning to Edinburgh; but, in the mean time, receiving intelligence that the Scottiſh army had taken poſt at Falkirk, within fix leagues of his camp, he reſolved to attempt a deciſive ſtroke, and ordered the troops, hungry and hard beſt as they were, to march forward with the greateſt celerity. Accordingly, ſetting out from Kirkliſton at three o'clock in the afternoon, they arrived at Linlithgow that evening, and encamped upon the eaſt of the town in a muir, a part of which ſtill remains in its former uncultivated ſtate, and is known by the name of the *Burrow-muir*. As the tents and baggage had been left in the former camp, the army lay all night upon the bare ground, as did alſo the

* Hemingford.

† Tyrrel.

the King himself; nor had the horses any provender, except the furze and grafs of the muir. The English historians, who lived in those times, mention an accident which that night befell their sovereign: as he lay fast asleep on the ground, a horse trampling upon him, not only bruised him, but broke two of his ribs. Concealing, however, his anguish, he mounted at day-break, and led the army through the town of Linlithgow. They had no sooner passed that town, than they observed sundry bodies of armed men westward, upon the hills of Muiraven-side, which they took for the Scottish army, and therefore marched up in order of battle to attack them; but, upon their arrival at the place where they had appeared, it was found that they had retired, having been only the out-posts and scouting parties of the Scots, who, upon the approach of the enemy, had fallen back to the main body at Falkirk*.

Upon their arrival at the summit of the hills, the whole army halted a little, till the
Bishop

* Hemingford.

Bishop of Durham had said mass, it being the morning of St Magdalen's day. In the mean time, they observed the Scottish army, at the distance of two miles, forming in order of battle, upon a small eminence near Falkirk. When mass was ended, the King proposed that the army should take a little refreshment; the troops themselves, however, would listen to no delay, but insisted to be led to action, to which Edward gave his consent, in the name of the Holy Trinity *.

The English advanced to the charge in three great bodies. The first was led by Bigod, Earl Marshal, and the Earls of Hereford and Lincoln; the second by the Bishop of Durham, with whom Sir Ralph Basset de Drayton was joined in command; and the third, which was probably intended as a corps de reserve, was commanded by Edward in person †. The Scottish army stood also in three divisions, commanded by as many leaders, who, besides Wallace, were, John Cumming of Badenoch, and

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John

* Hemingford.

† Ibid.

John Stewart of Bonkill, commonly, tho' improperly, called Stewart of Bute, brother to the High Stewart of Scotland *. The English writers say that there were four bodies of the Scots, each of which was drawn up in the form of an orb, with their spears in an horizontal position before them, judging this the most proper posture of defence against the numerous cavalry of the enemy; the intervals between the orbs being planted with archers, and a small body of cavalry stationed behind the rest of the army †.

Hitherto the Scottish leaders had acted with an appearance of unanimity; but, in an instant, the most untimely that could possibly have happened, an obstinate dispute arose amongst them about the post of honour, that is, who should have the chief command, each claiming it as his right: Wallace, because guardian of the kingdom, or, at least, as having been accustomed for some time past to command the army; Cumming, because he was allied to the crown, and had a numerous vassalage; and Stewart,

* Common historians.

† Hemingford.

Stewart, as supplying the place of his brother the Lord High Stewart. We are not informed in what manner this unfortunate dispute ended: It is probable that each of them continued to exercise an independent command over that body which he had brought into the field, without being subject to the controul of a commander in chief. It is commonly asserted, that Cumming was so irritated because the supreme command was not decreed to him, that he marched off the field with a body of ten thousand men, without fighting at all; by which means only Wallace and Stewart, with their divisions, remained to receive the enemy, who approached in a very martial manner.

The first line of the English, led on by Bigod, Earl Marshal, and the Earls of Hereford and Lincoln, advanced with great ardor; but not having reconnoitred the ground, they were a little retarded by the morasses, which lay in front of the Scots; but, upon turning a little to the left, they found firm ground, alongst which they marched forward to the attack. The Bishop
of

of Durham, who, with Sir Ralph Basset, commanded the second line, perceiving the morass, turned to the right, and fetched a compass around it; but, upon a nearer inspection of the warlike posture of the Scots, he proposed to stop, until the third division, commanded by the King, should advance. A delay, however, did not suit the military ardor of Basset, who insisted, that the troops should instantly be led on to the charge; and, with a degree of warmth, accosted the Bishop in the following manner. ‘Go to
 ‘mass, if you please, and we shall conduct
 ‘the military operations of the day.’ Accordingly, they advanced, and charged the left wing of the Scots, almost at the same time that Bigod made an assault upon the right*.

The Scots made so brave a resistance, that the English cavalry, who were chiefly employed at first, could not, for some time, make any impression upon their ranks. But the infantry advancing, and pouring terrible showers of arrows among them, while the

* Hemingford.

the cavalry at the same time attacked them with their lances, they were at last thrown into great disorder. The division commanded by Stewart was surrounded, and, after a gallant defence, mostly cut in pieces, together with their leader, who was mortally wounded, and fell from his horse as he was giving orders to a company of archers *. Wallace, for some time, stood his ground against the whole power of the enemy, with amazing intrepidity, till Robert Bruce, who, with a body of cavalry, had taken a circuit round a hill, was ready to fall upon his rear. This obliged him to begin a retreat, which he accomplished with great valour and military skill, to the river Carron †, which he crossed in the view of the victorious army, at a ford in the neighbourhood of Arthur's-oven.

This is the account which the generality of Scottish writers give of the behaviour of Wallace in that engagement. They are not wanting, however, who represent his conduct in a very different light. These
tell

* Hemingford. † Fordun. Buchan.

tell us, that, in the unfortunate altercation that fell out betwixt the Scottish leaders, about the post of honour, or the chief command, much opprobrious language passed between Stewart and Wallace. Stewart charged Wallace with ambition, as aspiring to a dignity far above his rank; and compared him to the Owl in the fable, who, having dressed herself with feathers borrowed from other birds, pretended not only to a beauty superior to those of her own kind, but to a dominion over the whole winged tribe. This so irritated Wallace, that, in the heat of passion, he led off the whole corps under his command, which amounted to ten thousand men, to Callendar wood, where he stood an idle spectator during the battle. By this means, as Cumming was also gone, none remained to oppose the advancing enemy, except Stewart, who resolved to devote himself for his country, and was, with the greatest part of his division, cut in pieces. Nor could Wallace be prevailed upon, by all the intreaties of Sir John Graham, and the other officers, to interpose for his relief. But, at last, he began

gan to reflect upon the danger, in which imprudent passion had involved himself; and perceiving, that the only alternative now left for his safety, was either tamely to yield himself up to the victorious enemy, or cut his way through the midst of them, in order to regain the Torwood, a place of strength very familiar to him, he resolved to attempt the latter; which, after many signal exertions of courage, and great slaughter amongst the enemy, he accomplished.

This account, though it leaves Wallace in full possession of his courage, and other military talents, yet entirely strips him of his patriotism, and represents him as sacrificing the public interest to his own private passion. It brings to our remembrance the conduct of the brutal Achilles, who would not fight for his country, because he had a quarrel with Agamemnon. It cannot, however, admit of credit in all its circumstances. It is utterly irreconcilable with Hemingford, who places the English army, immediately before the battle, almost upon the
same

same ground which this account makes Wallace to occupy.

That an unhappy difference arose betwixt the Scottish leaders, about the time of this battle, is a fact that cannot be absolutely denied. Nor is it easy to conceive what could induce the Scottish writers to fabricate so dishonourable a story of Wallace, who is generally their great favourite. The most plausible method of rendering this account consistent, and reconciling it with the English historians is, by supposing that the dispute happened the day before, and that, if Wallace really carried his resentment against Stewart so far, as to retire from him in passion, yet, he afterwards relenting, joined the army again. In that case, it might be his corps which the English saw upon the heights, westward of Linlithgow, and which, upon their approach, fell back to the main body at Falkirk *.

Bruce

* Fordun expressly says, that Cumming forsook the rest of the leaders. In Goodal's edition of that author, there is no mention of any dispute betwixt Wallace and Stewart; but, among the various readings at the foot
of

Bruce pursued Wallace to the river ; and, like one of the warriors of antiquity, called out to him with a loud voice, as he stood upon the opposite bank, demanding a private interview ; to which the other assented ; and each walking upon the opposite bank, till coming to a place where the channel was narrow, and the banks exceeding steep, they stood, with the stream betwixt them, and held a conference, mentioned by all the Scottish historians, which opened the eyes of Bruce to a just view, both of his own true interest, and that of his country. He represented to Wallace the madness of taking up arms against so powerful a monarch as Edward, and charged him with having a view to the crown himself. The other replied, with great warmth, that his very soul abhorred such ambitious views ; that a pure disinterested regard to the welfare of his country was the sole motive by which he was animated ; and he concluded, with roundly telling Bruce, that he had

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brought

of the page, there is a note signifying, that in Hearn's manuscript, the loss of the battle is ascribed to the jealousy and pride of two Scottish commanders.

brought much misery upon his country, and had been altogether blind to his own interest in siding with the English. This conference sank deep into the mind of Bruce, and convinced him of the foolish part he had hitherto acted *. It is at least certain that, about that time, he began to form the grand design of restoring liberty and independence to Scotland; which he at last, after many labours and hardships, happily effected.

The damage sustained by the Scots in this action was very great; insomuch, that it does not appear that, at any other time, they suffered so great a loss, nor one which seemed to threaten more inevitable ruin to their country. We are not, however, to give credit to the exaggerated relations of the English writers, some of whom make the number of the slain to amount to fifty or sixty thousand, besides a very great number of prisoners †. The Scottish writers generally make the loss to exceed ten thousand; amongst whom, besides the valiant John

* Fordun.

† Hemingford. Walsingham.

John Stewart, were M'Duff, Earl of Fife, or, according to other accounts, only a relation of that noble family, and the brave John Graham, who, for courage and military skill, was reckoned next to Wallace, who commonly stiled him his right hand.

The English too bought the victory very dear. Nor does the glory acquired by it appear very great, when we consider that it was gained by an army of veteran, well marshalled troops, over one almost thrice inferior to them in number, and chiefly composed of raw undisciplined peasants, whose leaders were so unfortunately divided amongst themselves, that they did not act in cordial conjunction with each other. Though, perhaps, we are not to give intire credit to the Scottish accounts, which make the loss of the conquerors to amount to thirty thousand, yet, it is certain, that they lost a great number; amongst whom, particular notice is taken of the master of the Templars in England, and also of the master of the same order in Scotland, together with a Knight Templar of great renown, named Frere Brianjay, whose horse happening to stick
fast

fast in the mud, exposed his rider to a mortal stroke *.

The field that was the scene of this bloody rencounter, which happened upon the 22d of July 1298, lies about half way between the town of Falkirk and the river Carron. Hemingford, who had his information from those that were present, hath given the most particular account of the motions and dispositions of both armies, that is any where to be met with †. He says,

* Trivet.

† Trivetius and Hemingford were two English monks. They are both authors of reputation; and no small degree of regard is due to their authority, as they lived in those times. The former is more accurate, though the latter is more copious. We cannot, however, vindicate any of them from the charge of partiality and exaggeration. By the account which Hemingford gives of the loss sustained by the Scots at Falkirk, we will be led to think, that almost the whole nation was cut off at one blow, and that Edward had obtained, with respect to Scotland, the wish, which Caligula uttered concerning the Romans, when he so inhumanely wished, that that people had but one neck, that he might cut it off with a single stroke. He says, that there were fifty thousand slain, besides many drowned, and

says, that the English halted upon heights, a good way westward from Linlithgow, till mass was said by the Bishop of Durham: That, from that place, they observed the Scottish army, at a distance, forming in order of battle, upon an eminence of a small height near Falkirk: That there was a small rivulet betwixt the two armies, when they stood in those situations.

The heights upon which the English halted, could be no other than those upon the west of Madiston, and south of Callander wood, and the rivulet no other than West-quarter burn, which, though but a small stream, is not readily passed by cavalry, on account of its steep and rugged banks.

The eminence upon which the Scots were drawn up, must have been that ridge of

and three hundred thousand foot taken prisoners, besides a thousand horsemen. Moreover, he describes great ignorance of geography, when he writes, that Edward waited near a month at Kirkliston, for the arrival of the ships which had been appointed to bring provisions to that place, by the west sea; and that, at last, three ships arrived there, with wine, by that course.

of gently rising ground extending eastward from Mongal; that tract is distinctly seen from the heights upon the south of Callander wood, which cannot be said of any other eminence in the near neighbourhood of Falkirk. Our historian too informs us, that, in the front of the Scots, lay a morass, at each end of which was firm ground; the morass is still to be seen, running along the south-side of that eminence; it is now known by the name of Mungal bog, through the midst of which the canal is dug. As it is of a mossy soil, it exactly answers the description given by Hemingford, who calls it *lacus bituminosus*, by which he undoubtedly means a peat-moss. Add to this, that tradition is uniform in pointing out the fields in the neighbourhood of this morass, as having been the scene of the action; and closely adjoining to it is a tract of ground called Graham's-muir, commonly said to have received its name from the brave John Graham, who fell in that battle. At the east end of the morass, almost in the same spot where the draw-bridge over the canal is now erected,

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is a place called Brian's ford, or, as it is vulgarly pronounced, Bains-ford, supposed to have received that name from its having been the spot where Brianjay the knight templar was slain.

Fordun says, that Robert Bruce made a circuit round a long hill, (*mons longi itineris*,) in order to come upon the back of the Scottish army. His rout, according to this account, must have been westward, along the hollow in which the Glen, or West-quarter burn runs, and turning east-ward by Roughcastle and Caermuir.

No monuments are to be seen near the field of battle; but, upon the summit of a hill, a short mile south-east of Callander wood, a stone is erected, which is well known in that neighbourhood by the name of *Wallace stone*, and a little to the east of it is a track of ground called *Wallace ridge*. Common tradition reports, that this stone is erected in the spot where Wallace stood during the battle; having been so incensed by the opprobrious language he had received from Stewart, that he would not
act

act in conjunction with him, and that his soldiers were posted on the tract called *Wallace ridge*. But, if this stone hath any reference to the actions of that hero, it is more probable that it was erected in the place where he had taken post before the battle; and, as it can be seen from Linlithgow, it is not unlikely, that it was the corps under his command which the English saw from that town. The spot where the stone is fixed, commands a full prospect of the field of battle, at the distance of two miles, and it appears, that the English halted to say mass very near the place where it stands. Upon the stone, which is about three feet in height, eighteen inches in breadth, and three in thickness, two double W's, which are supposed to be the initials of William Wallace, are discernible; though, from the form of the letters, they do not appear to be so ancient as the age we are upon. The grave-stone of John Graham is still to be seen in the churchyard of Falkirk, with the following Latin motto upon it.

Mente manuque potens, et Vallae fidus Achates,
Conditur Hic Gramus, bello interfectus ab Anglis,
XXII Julii. anno 1298.

And this in English.

Heir lyes Sir John the Grame, baith wight and wise,
Ane of the chiefs who rescawit Scotland thrise.
Ane better knight not to the world was lent,
Nor was gude Grame of truth and hardiment.

When some of Cromwell's English troops were stationed at Falkirk, one of the officers desired the schoolmaster of that town to translate the Latin lines, which he did in the following manner.

Of mind and courage stout, and Wallace true Achates,
Here lies Sir John the Grame, fell'd by the English baties,

There are now three stones upon the grave. When the inscription upon the first began to wear out by the influence of the weather, a second was placed above it with the same inscription, and a third was lately added by William Graham of Airth, Esq; At a little distance, upon the left hand, is an unpolished stone, which is said

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to

to lie upon the grave of the brave John Stewart.

Wallace, after the conference with Bruce, went to visit the remains of his mangled army, who had halted at the Torwood. Soon after he returned northward to Perth, having burnt the town of Stirling, and laid the country waste in his retreat *, in order to distress the enemy for want of provisions, if they should pursue him.

Upon his arrival at Perth, he resigned his office as guardian of the kingdom, and returned to his former private station; or, according to Buchanan, he dismissed the army, which he had for some time commanded. From this period we have few certain accounts concerning him. It is commonly said that he went to France, and entered into the service of that nation against the English. Upon his return to Scotland, having been basely betrayed by John Monteath, one of his own party, he was delivered into the hands of Edward, and put to death at London, in such a manner

* Trivet.

ner as reflects a perpetual disgrace upon that monarch's reign.

Four days after the battle, Edward advanced to Stirling, which he found in ruins, as it had been burnt by the Scots in their retreat. Taking up his lodgings in the convent of Dominicans, he staid two weeks in that town, and from thence sent a detachment in pursuit of the Scots as far as Perth, which they found also burnt. After having planted a strong garrison in the castle of Stirling, he returned southward: For, notwithstanding his victory, he found his army so shattered, and provisions so scanty, that he saw it necessary to march homeward with all expedition. His rout, upon his return, was by Falkirk to Abercorn, and from thence to Carlisle, through the forest of Selkirk, which, at that time, appears to have extended over the greatest part of the south of Scotland †.

A number of little entertaining incidents are told of the battle of Falkirk; a few of which

† Trivet. Hemingford.

which we shall subjoin, though some of them have altogether the air of romance.

At the commencement of the battle, Wallace made the following very short speech to his soldiers: 'There is Edward, hap, if you can;' that is, 'run, if you can.'

In the retreat, Wallace, with three hundred of the best cavalry, kept in the rear, and performed many signal acts of valour in repulsing the pursuers. He kept a constant eye upon those who were most forward in the pursuit, and cut off many of them, and, among the rest, Brianjay the knight-templar. Wallace too and Bruce once encountered; the combat was terrible, and brings to our remembrance the encounters of Homer's warriors. At last Wallace, with one stroke, broke the other's spear, and, by a second, cut off the head of his horse. To apologize for the romantic appearance of such feats, we are told, that the strength of that hero was equal to that of four ordinary men; and that nothing was proof against his sword, one blow of which, if it chanced to hit fair, never

never failed to cleave both head and shoulders.

When the retreating army came to Carron, the tide happened to flow, which caused them to halt all of a sudden; but, at the call of their leader, who was still employed in repelling the pursuers, they entered the river, and, keeping together in a compact body, not one of them was drowned. Notice is also taken of Wallace's horse, which, being all covered with wounds, and having several heads of spears sticking in his body, had just strength enough to carry his master over the river, and then fell down dead.

Some accounts mention a second conference which was held between Bruce and Wallace at the chapel of Dunipace, the morning after the battle. They speak also of a jest passed upon Bruce, which co-operated with the reasoning of Wallace to alienate his affections from the English. At a repast upon the evening of the battle, an English officer, seeing much blood upon Bruce's cloaths, and some of it happening to mingle with the morsel he was eating, said,

said, 'Behold, that Scot is eating his own blood,' which Robert considered as containing a double *entendre*.

S E C T. IX.

The Battle of Bannockburn.

IT hath often been observed, that the effeminacy of people in hot climates has generally rendered them slaves, while the bravery of those in cold climates has enabled them to maintain their liberties, or to sell them at the dearest rate. Montesquieu ascribes this to a natural cause. Great heat enervates the strength and courage of men; whereas, in cold regions, they possess a certain vigour of body and mind, which renders them capable of painful and intrepid actions. 'This much is certain, that those nations who have been disposed to conquer and enslave others, have generally found that passion more easily gratified when they
carried

carried their arms southward, than when they turned them towards the north. Xerxes found more valour at Thermopylae than Alexander did in all the east. It is well known with what facility the Romans invaded Asia, and what great difficulties they had to encounter in conquering Europe. The nearer to the pole they advanced, the greater opposition did these plunderers of the world meet with. So slow were their conquests in Britain, that above one hundred and thirty years had elapsed from the first invasion of it by Julius Cæsar, to their arrival upon the confines of Scotland. Agricola, who first led the armies of that people thither, met with an army of fiercer combatants, at the foot of Mount Grampius, than any of his predecessors in office had found in the southern parts of the island; insomuch that, though he remained master of the field, he found his legions so shattered, that he could not improve the victory. The same spirit of valour and independence did the inhabitants of the same country exert, many ages afterwards, against the Danes and Norwegians, when they landed upon their coasts,

coasts, and also against their next neighbours of the south, when they sought to subject them to their dominion. The Danes erected a monarchy, which continued during four successive reigns in England, but were every where overthrown in Scotland by bloody battles, and at last driven out of the kingdom. When the English were seized with the thirst of conquest, they had not the same success in Scotland which they met with in France. Their historians are always careful to celebrate the victories of Poitiers and Cressy; but they slightly pass over the defeat at Bannockburn.

Edward II. kept up the same claim upon the kingdom of Scotland which his father had begun; and, after several unsuccessful attempts to establish it, he resolved to make a great effort, and, with one blow, intirely reduce that turbulent nation, which had put so many signal affronts upon his father and himself. Having borrowed considerable sums of money from the monasteries of his dominions, in order to defray the expences of
so

so important an expedition *, he assembled, in the spring of the year 1314, the most numerous army that had ever crossed the borders of the two kingdoms, composed of different nations, and amounting to above an hundred thousand effective men †, besides a huge multitude of attendants, who came along in hopes of sharing in the plunder of a conquered country. At the head of these, he marched northward with an uncommon parade, and in full confidence of victory, after having ordered his fleet to attend him by sea with provisions, and appointed public prayers to be offered

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* Rhymer's foedera, vol. iii. p. 431.

† Historians inform us, that this numerous host was composed not only of all the crown-vassals in England, Ireland, and Wales, with their military tenants, who, in consequence of a summons, attended their sovereign, but that great numbers of foreign troops had been transported from Normandy, Brittany, Flanders, and Gascony, and all the English provinces in France, beside all the Scots who were disaffected to Bruce, and all those of broken fortunes from every corner, who joined the army in expectation of obtaining lands in Scotland. Some make the whole number to amount to three hundred thousand.

up in all the churches and monasteries of his dominions for success *. This parade did not terrify those against whom it was intended.

Robert Bruce, grandson of him who had been competitor with Baliol, had, in 1306, been crowned King of Scotland. Though hitherto he had been so far from possessing his throne in tranquillity, that he had been involved in a state of perpetual war with England, and a party among the Scots who adhered to Baliol, in which his successes had been checkered with greater losses, infomuch that he had been several times reduced to the greatest extremities; but the vigour of mind and health of body, with both of which he was happily endowed, had enabled him to sustain the toils and hardships he underwent with an unconquerable intrepidity. Having been timeously informed of Edward's formidable preparations, he raised an army of thirty thousand of his subjects to oppose him. This armament bore a small proportion to that of England; but it was composed of soldiers who were inured

* Rhymer's foedera, vol. iii.

inured to the practice of war, and who now carried upon the point of their swords liberty and honour, and every thing that was dear to them. With these, Robert took up his station in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and waited for Edward's arrival. His first rendezvous was at Torwood, where he laid the plan of his operations, in concert with his general officers, who were, Edward Bruce, his own brother, Thomas Randolph Earl of Murray, his nephew, Walter Stewart, and James Douglas *.

The two armies came in fight of each other in the month of June; and, soon after, a fierce and bloody battle was fought, in which the Scots obtained a victory, the most celebrated of any in the annals of that kingdom. Though the union of the two kingdoms has now rendered their former contests with each other rather a matter of curiosity than of serious concern, yet the smallest particular of an action, once so interesting to the Scottish nation, cannot fail to be entertaining. The accounts given of it

* Barbour.

it by historians often contradict each other ; and some of them do not at all correspond to the situation of the grounds where it happened. Buchanan, who, from his long residence at Stirling, as preceptor to James VI. had frequent opportunities of viewing the field, has given a concise, but, at the same time, a distinct account of it. Casting our eye upon his history, and the fields which were the stage of this great transaction, we have, at one glance, the dispositions and motions of both armies.

The English host, having marched from Edinburgh to Falkirk in one day, set out upon the morrow towards Stirling. Robert, being well informed, by his scouts, of their motions, dispatched James Douglas and Robert Keith to reconnoitre them upon their march, who, upon their return, reported that it was the best arrayed, as well as the most numerous army they had ever seen, and pompous almost beyond expression. Policy, however, led the King to conceal this report from his army : On the other hand, he ordered it to be given out that, though the enemy were numerous, they were not properly

properly marshalled *. In the mean time, the English came in fight, and encamped to the northward of the Torwood. About Upper Bannockburn, and in the muir of Plean, in the neighbourhood of the antient Roman causeway, pieces of broken pots, and other vessels, have been found; and, upon the rocks, near the surface, marks of fire have been discovered, where, it is supposed, the soldiers had made ready their provisions. Barbour too speaks as if their camp had stretched so far northward, as to occupy a part of the Carse ground. So vast a multitude must doubtless have covered a large tract of the country.

The Scottish army had, some days before, drawn nearer to Stirling, and posted themselves in ground which had been previously chosen †, behind the small river of Bannockburn, which is remarkable for its steep and rugged banks. They occupied several small eminences upon the south and west of the present village of St Ninian's. Upon the summit of one of these eminences,

* Barbour. † Ibid.

nences, now called Brock's-brae, is a stone sunk into the earth, with a round hole, about four inches in diameter, and much the same in depth, in the midst of it, in which, according to tradition, Robert's standard was fixed, the royal pavilion having been erected near it. This stone is well known in that neighbourhood by the name of the *Bore-stone*. In those situations the two armies lay facing one another, at the distance of a short mile, with the river running in a narrow valley between them.

The castle of Stirling was still in the hands of the English. Edward Bruce, brother to Robert, had, in the spring of the preceeding year, besieged it for several months; but, finding himself unable to reduce it, had been obliged to abandon the enterprize; only, by a treaty between that Prince, and Phillip Moubray, the governor, it was agreed, that, if the garrison received no relief from England, before St John's day 1314, they should then surrender to the Scots. Robert was much dissatisfied, with this treaty, as granting to the English the quiet possession of that fortress for too long

a space; but, to save his brother's honour, he at last confirmed it. The day before the battle, a fine body of cavalry, to the number of eight hundred, was detached from the English camp, under the conduct of Lord Clifford, to the relief of that garrison. These having marched through low grounds, upon the edge of the Carse, had passed the Scottish army before they were observed. The King himself was among the first who perceived them, and desiring Thomas Randolph to turn his eyes towards that place where they were making their appearance, in the crofts north of the church of St Ninian's, told him, with marks of displeasure in his countenance, 'that a rose had fallen from his chaplet.' Randolph, considering this as a severe reproach, because he had the charge of the left wing of the army, where they had passed, immediately set out after them with a party of five hundred foot, and coming up with them in the plain, where the small village of New-house now stands, a sharp action ensued in sight of both armies, and of the garrison of Stirling. Randolph's party,

party, who had drawn up in the form of an orb, with their spears in an horizontal position before them, were briskly attacked by the enemy, who furrounded them. It was fought with much valour on both sides, and was for some time doubtful whether victory would turn. Robert, attended by several of his general officers, beheld this rencounter from a rising ground, supposed to be the round hill immediately upon the west of St Ninian's, now called *Cockshot-bill*. James Douglas, perceiving the distress of Randolph, who was greatly inferior to the enemy in numbers, asked leave to go with a reinforcement to his support. This the King at first refused; but, upon his afterwards consenting, Douglas put his foldiers in motion; observing, however, as he was on the way, that the victory was upon the point of being won without his assistance, he stopped short, that Randolph, and his men, who had long fought so hard, might enjoy the unrivalled glory of it. The English were entirely defeated, and a great number of them slain; among whom was Sir Gilzame de Aimecout, a knight of great
renown,

renown, who, in the beginning of the action, had exposed himself with an unwary forwardness. The loss of the Scots was so small, as to be almost incredible, only one man out of the whole corps having been slain. Randolph and his company, covered with sweat and dust, returned to the camp, amidst acclamations of universal joy*. To perpetuate the memory of this victory, two stones were reared up in that field, and are still to be seen there. They stand in a spot, which has been lately inclosed for a garden, at the north end of the village of New-house, about a quarter of a mile from the south port of Stirling.

This victory gave new spirits to the whole army, and raised so great an ardour for the general engagement, that the night, though amongst the shortest in all the year, seemed long to them. Edward too, exasperated at the defeat of his detachment, and perceiving the disadvantageous impression it was likely to make upon his army, was resolved to bring on the battle upon the morrow. At length appeared the dawn of that

B b impor-

* Barbour.

important day, which was to decide whether Scotland was, henceforth, to be an independent kingdom, or subjected to a foreign yoke. Early all was in motion in both armies. Religious sentiments were mingled with the military ardour of the Scots. A solemn mass, in the manner of those times, was said by Maurice, abbot of Inchchaufry, who also administered the sacrament to the King, and the great officers about him, upon a hill near the camp, probably *Cockshot-bill*, while inferior priests did the same to the rest of the army *. Then, after a sober

* Robert had neglected no means which tended to raise the spirits of his army. The evening before the battle, he made a harangue to them, in which he represented how much was now depending upon their courage and manly behaviour; he painted, in the blackest colours, the dismal consequences of a defeat, and also set before them the importance and glory of a victory. The same evening too, one of these priestly frauds, so frequent in the ages of darkness and superstition, was practised. The King had a particular respect for Saint Fillan. Though this saint had been dead, at least six hundred years, the church pretended to be still in possession of one of his arms, which was held in the highest veneration. He had ordered Maurice, his chaplain, to bring along with him that arm, inshrined in a small silver chest; but the chaplain fearing least, in case of a defeat, that

ber repast, they formed in order of battle, in a tract of ground, now called *Nether Touchadam*, which lies alongst the declivity of a gently rising hill, about a mile due south from the castle of Stirling. This situation had been previously chosen, on account of its advantages. Upon the right, they had a range of steep rocks, now called *Gillies hill*, in which the hill abruptly terminates. In their front, were the steep banks of the rivulet of Bannockburn. Upon the left lay a morass, now called *Milton bog*, from its vicinity to a small village of that

that precious reliet might be lost, brought only the empty chest. As the King was at his devotion, in which he particularly requested the aid of St Fillan, he was startled at the motion of the chest before him, which, all of a sudden, opened, and shut again of its own accord. The chaplain running to inquire into the matter, expressed great astonishment at finding in the chest, the arm, which he pretended to have left in another place. He thereupon told the whole story to the King, who, though probably not so credulous as to believe it, yet, seeing the political use that might be made of it, took care to have it spread through the army, and with a good effect; for their credulity led them to consider it as a miraculous interposition in their behalf, by which their spirits were not a little animated.

FORDUN.

that name. Much of this bog is still undrained, and a part of it is, at present, a mill dam. As it was then the middle of summer, it was almost quite dry; but Robert had recourse to a stratagem, in order to prevent any attack from that quarter. He had some time before ordered many ditches and pits to be digged in the morasses, and in the fields upon the left, and these to be covered over again with green turf, supported by stakes driven into the bottom of them, so that the ground had still the appearance of being firm. He also caused calthrops, or sharp-pointed irons, to be scattered through the morasses; some of which have been found there, in the memory of people yet alive. By means of these artificial improvements, added to the natural strength of the ground, the Scottish army stood as within an intrenchment, and the invisible pits and ditches answered to the concealed batteries of modern times *.

Barbour,

* Some historians tell us, that Robert used even the rays of the sun to his advantage, having drawn up his army in such a position, that that luminary shone so directly in the faces of the enemy, as to dazzle their eyes, and embarrass their motions. But this is a mere random

Barbour, who lived near those times, mentions a park with trees, through which the English had to pass, before they could attack the Scots, and says, that Robert chose this situation, that, besides other advantages, the trees might prove an impediment to the enemies cavalry. The improvements of agriculture, and other accidents, have, in a course of four hundred years, much altered the face of this, as well as other parts of the country. Vestiges however of this park still remain. Many stumps of trees are still to be seen all around the field where the battle was fought. A farm-house, situated almost in the

the
dom assertion to embellish the story; for, upon comparing the field with the best accounts of the action, it appears plain, that the Scottish army stood almost due east and west, with their faces to the south, by which means the sun, in the morning, shewn upon their left, and the higher he advanced in the Heavens, the more did he dart his beams in their faces; so that, in this respect, the advantage was rather upon the side of the English.

It is likewise commonly supposed, that, besides all other precautions, Robert fortified the front and flanks of his army with strong palisadoes, or *chevaux de frise*, which

the midst of the field, still goes by the name of the *Park*; and a miln built upon the south bank of the rivulet, nearly opposite to where the centre of Robert's army stood, goes by the name of the *Park miln*.

The Scottish army was drawn up in three divisions, and their front extended near a mile in length, along the brink of the river. The right, which was upon the highest grounds, was commanded by Edward Bruce, brother to the King. The left was posted on the low grounds, near the morafs, under the direction of Randolph, and the King himself took the charge of the centre. Mention is also made of a fourth division, commanded by Walter Lord High Stewart, and James Douglas, both of whom had that morning been knighted by their sovereign. As they stood in this posture waiting for the enemy, the trumpets, clarions, and horns continued to blow, with so hideous a noise, as made the neighbouring rocks and woods to echo the sound *.

The

which is not improbable; though we do not remember to have seen this taken notice of by any of the writers who lived nearest to that period.

* Majoris Historia.

The enemy were fast approaching in three great bodies, and led on by the English monarch himself, and the Earls of Hereford and Gloucester, who were ranked among the best generals that England could at that time produce. Their centre was formed of infantry, and the wings of cavalry, many of whom were armed cap-a-pee. Squadrons of archers were also planted upon the wings, and at certain distances along the front. Edward was attended by two knights, Sir Giles de Argentine, and Sir Aimer de Vallance, who rode, one upon each side of him; hence, according to the phrase of these days, they were said to be at his bridle. That monarch, who had imagined that the Scots would never face his formidable host, was much astonished, when he beheld the order in which they were drawn up, and their determined resolution to give him battle. As he expressed his surprise to those about him, Sir Ingram Umfraville took the opportunity of suggesting a plan, which was likely to ensure a cheap and bloodless victory. He counselled him to make a faint of retreat-
ing

ing with the whole army, till they had got behind their tents ; and, as this would tempt the Scots to break their ranks, in order to plunder the camp, they should suddenly turn about and fall upon them *. This counsel was rejected, Edward being of opinion, that there was no need of any stratagem, in order to defeat so small an handful of men.

Amongst the other occurrences of this memorable day, historians mention an incident of a singular nature. As the two armies were upon the point of engaging, the Abbot of Inchchaufry, having posted himself before the Scots, with a crucifix in his hand, they all fell down upon their knees in an act of devotion †. The enemy observing them in so uncommon a posture, concluded that they were frightened into submission, and that, by kneeling, when they should have been ready to fight, they meant to surrender at discretion, and only begged their lives ‡ ; but they were soon undeceived

* Barbour. † Barbour. Fordun.

‡ The reader perhaps will not be displeased to see, in the nervous words of Barbour, the conference which
this

undeceived, when they saw them rise again, and stand to their arms with steady countenances.

The English began the action, by a vigorous charge upon the left wing of the Scots, commanded by Randolph, near the spot where the bridge is now thrown over the river, at the small village of Chartershall. Thereabout was the only place where the river could be crossed in any sort of order. A large body of cavalry advanced to attack in front, while another fetched a compass to fall upon the flank and rear ; but, before they could come to a close engagement, they fell into the snare that had been

C c

laid

this singular incident produced between the English monarch, and Sir Ingram Umfraville.

And when the English King had sight
Of them kneeling ; he said in hie,
Yon folk kneeleth to ask mercy.
Sir Ingram said, ye say sooth now
They ask mercy, but none at yow,
For their trespasss to God they cry.
I tell thee a thing sickerly,
That yon men will all win or die,
For doubt of dead, they will not flee.

laid for them *; many of their horses were soon disabled by the sharp irons rushing in to their feet, others tumbled into the concealed pits, and could not disentangle themselves †. Pieces of their harness, with bits of broken spears, and other armour, still continue to be dug up in the bog. Randolph knew full well how to improve an accident, which he had looked for; taking an immediate advantage of the disorder and surprise into which it had thrown the enemy, he charged them with vigour. While these transactions were going on in these parts, the battle was spreading along the

* This is the account given by Buchanan and sundry other historians; but it differs a little from that given by Barbour, who, though he does not particularly mention the stations of the several generals, nor the manner in which the army was arranged upon the day of battle, yet says, that the first attack was made upon the division commanded by Edward Bruce, who was immediately supported by Randolph; that Walter Stewart and James Douglas next led on to the charge, and last of all the King, after having made his observations, and given the necessary orders, came forward with his division, upon which the battle became general.

† Buchan.

the front, and was fought with much valour on both sides.

In the beginning of the engagement, an incident happened, which, though in itself of small moment, was rendered important by its consequences. Robert was mounted on horseback, Barbour says, upon a little palfry, carrying a battle-ax in his hand, and upon his helmet he wore a purple hat, in form of a crown, by way of distinction. This singularity of dress, together with his activity, rendered him very conspicuous as he rode before the lines, observing their order, and encouraging them with the cheerfulness of his countenance. An English Knight, named Henry Bohun, cousin to the Earl of Hereford, who was ranked amongst the bravest in Edward's army, came galloping furiously up to him, in order to engage with him in a single combat, expecting, by so eminent an act of chivalry, to put an end to the contest at once, and gain immortal renown to himself. But the enterprising champion, having missed his first blow, was immediately struck dead with the King's battle-ax, the handle of which was broken by

by the violence of the stroke *. This was a sort of signal for the charge. So bold an attack upon their King, filled the Scots with sentiments of revenge; and the heroic achievement performed by him before their eyes, raised their spirits to the highest pitch. Their courage was too warm to suffer restraint,

* The greatest part of historians mention this incident as having happened in the beginning of the grand battle; but, according to Barbour's account, it happened the day before. He says, that, while Randolph, and the detachment of English cavalry under Clifford, were engaged in the plain near Stirling, the grand army of England advanced, in order of battle, to attack the Scots; but Edward having called a council of war by the way, it was determined to delay the engagement till the morrow. The English van, however, having come very near the Scottish army, before they were informed of this new resolution, Bohun had the opportunity of making this furious assault upon Robert. After which, both armies retired without engaging; only, the Scots following the English a little way, cut off a few of the hindermost. Great regard is doubtless due to Barbour, who could have his information from those who were present in the battle, which happened only about twenty years before he was born. And, though he mentions a great number of important incidents, as having happened the day before, we must recollect, that, at that season, the day is at the longest.

strait, and their confidence too great to listen to advice; they rushed furiously upon the enemy, who gave them a warm reception. The ardour of one of the Scottish divisions having carried them too far, occasioned their being sorely galled by a large body of English archers, who charged them in flank; but these were soon dispersed by Edward Bruce, who came behind them with a party of spear-men; or, according to other accounts, by Sir Robert Keith, whom the King dispatched to their relief, with a company of five hundred horse. Prince Edward, however, soon found himself standing in need of the same relief, which he had so timeously afforded to others. A strong body of the enemy's cavalry charged the right wing, which he commanded, with such irresistible fury, that he had been quite overpowered, if Randolph, who appears to have, at that time, been disengaged, had not marched to his assistance. The battle was now at the hottest; and it was yet uncertain how the day was to go. The English still continued to charge with unabated vigour: The Scots received them with an
inflexible

inflexible intrepidity; and fought every one, as if victory had depended upon his single arm. A singular occurrence, which some accounts represent as an accidental rally of patriotic enthusiasm, others as a premeditated stratagem of Robert, suddenly altered the face of affairs, and contributed greatly to the victory. All the servants and attendants of the Scottish army, who are said to have amounted to above fifteen thousand, had been ordered, before the battle, to retire, with the baggage, behind *Gillies hill*; but having, during the engagement, arranged themselves in a martial form, some on foot, and others mounted on the baggage-horses, they marched to the top of the hill, and displaying white sheets, fixed upon long poles, instead of banners, moved towards the field of battle with hideous shouts. The English perceiving this motely croud, and taking them for a fresh reinforcement advancing to support the Scots, were seized with so great a panick, that they began to give way in great confusion *. Buchanan says, that

* Barbour.

that the King of England was the first that fled; but in this he contradicts all other historians, who affirm, that that monarch was among the last in the field. Nay, according to some accounts, he would not be persuaded to retire, till Sir Aymer de Valance, seeing the day lost, took hold of his horse's bridle, and led him off. Sir Giles de Argentine, the other Knight who waited on Edward, would not consent to leave the field; but, putting himself at the head of a batallion, made a vigorous effort to retrieve the desperate state of affairs, but was soon overpowered and slain. He was a champion of great renown; and, having signalized himself in several battles with the Saracens, was reckoned the third Knight for valour in his day *.

The Scots pursued, and great was the slaughter among the enemy, especially in passing the river, where they could keep no order, because of the irregularity of the ground. A short mile from the field of battle, lies a plot of ground, which goes by the

* Barbour.

the name of the *bloody-fold*, where, according to tradition, a party of the English faced about and made a stand; but, after a dreadful slaughter among them, were forced to continue their flight. This tradition corresponds to what we find in several historians, concerning the Earl of Glocester, who, seeing the rout of his countrymen, made an effort to renew the battle at the head of his own military tenants, and, after having done much execution with his own hand, was, together with the most of his party, cut in pieces. In fine, much valour was exerted on both sides; and the victory brought the greater honour to the Scots, that it was obtained, not over an ill disciplined multitude, as some represent the English to have been, but over a regular and well marshalled army, who fought both with valour and skill.

Perhaps there has not yet been an instance of a battle, in which the exact number of killed and wounded hath been truly ascertained. The ordinary method is, for each side to lessen the number of their own, and augment that of the enemy.

Though

Though the English writers do not specify the number of their slain, yet they acknowledge it to have been very great, and that their nation never met with such an overthrow.

The Scottish writers make the loss of the enemy in the battle and pursuit to have amounted to fifty thousand, while their own did not exceed four thousand; among whom Sir William Wepont and Sir Walter Ross were the only persons of distinction; a proportion almost incredible! Amongst the slain, upon the English side, were seven hundred noblemen and knights, many of whom were of the highest rank, as well as most distinguished valour, in that nation. They were all decently interred by Robert's order; who, even in the height of victory, could not refrain from shedding tears over several of them, who had been his intimate friends. The dead body of the Earl of Gloucester was carried that night to the church of St Ninian's, where it lay till, together with that of the Lord Clifford, it was sent to Edward to be interred in England *. The number of prisoners was al-

D d fo

* Barbour.

so very great ; and amongst them many of high rank, who were treated with the utmost civility.

The remains of the vanquished army were scattered all over the country. Many ran to the castle of Stirling, and not a few were drowned in the Forth, as they were attempting to cross it, in order to escape the rage of the pursuers. The Earl of Hereford, the surviving general, retreated with a large body towards Bothwell, and threw himself, with a few of the chief officers, into a castle there, which still belonged to the English ; but, being closely pursued, he surrendered himself a prisoner, and was soon exchanged for Robert's Queen, and daughter, and some other of his friends, who had, for eight years, been detained captives in England. Mention is also made of a large body of Welshmen, commanded by Sir Maurice Barclay, who traversed the country in their way home, in a habit which rendered them very conspicuous. Before the battle, they had thrown off their upper garments, which the hotness of the weather rendered cumbersome ; and, ha-
ving

ving fought in their shirts, were forced to take their flight in the same garb *.

Edward himself escaped with much difficulty. Upon his retreat from the field of battle, he rode to the castle; but Moubray the governor told him, that he could not long enjoy safety there, as it could not be holden out against the victorious army; upon which, taking a compass in order to shun the Scots, who were upon the watch for him, he made the best of his way homeward, accompanied by fifteen noblemen, and a small body of cavalry. He was closely pursued above forty miles by Sir James Douglas, who, with a party of light horse, kept upon his rear, and was often very near him †. He lost his privy-seal in the hurry of his flight; and, how hard he was put to, may be learned from a vow which he made in his flight, to build and endow a religious house in Oxford, if it should please God to favour his escape. He was upon the point of being taken prisoner, when he was received into the castle of

* Barbour.

† Idem.

of Dunbar by Gospatrick Earl of March, who was in the interest of England. Douglas waited a few days in the neighbourhood, in expectation of his attempting to go by land to England; but he made his escape by sea in a fisher's boat. His stay at Dunbar had been very short; for, in three days after the battle, we find him at Berwick, where he issued a proclamation concerning his privy-seal, which had been lost in the hurry of the flight, forbidding all persons to obey any orders that should pretend to have proceeded from that seal, without some other evidence of that order's having come from him*. History is often a repetition of similar events. Edward's confidence of success at first, and the manner of his escape, naturally calls to our remembrance the ostentatious parade with which Xerxes invaded Greece, and his shameful retreat from thence.

The castle of Stirling was next day surrendered, and the garrison allowed to pass unmolested to England, in terms of the treaty

* Rhymer's *foedera*, vol. iii. p. 483.

treaty of last year; but Moubray the governor, was so won by the civilities of Robert, that he entered into his service, and continued faithful to him all his life*.

Upon the morning after the battle, an English Knight, named Sir Marmaduke Tweman, an old acquaintance of Robert, came and surrendered himself. He was cordially received; and, after having been treated for some time with great civility, was sent home to England, not only without ransom, but loaded with presents†. In a word, the whole behaviour of Robert, after this victory, discovered a greatness of soul, which hath seldom been found in conquerors. The horrors of war, which had so long been familiar to him, had not extinguished the gentle passions in his bosom.

Historians have been careful to entertain us, after the bloody spectacle of an engagement, with an account of an English poet, named Baſton, a Carmelite friar, and Prior of a monastery in Scarborough, who was found among the prisoners. He was reckoned
one

* Barbour.

† Idem.

one of the best poets of that uncultivated age ; and Edward, in full confidence of success, had brought him in his train to celebrate his triumph. Being presented to Robert, he was promised his liberty, upon condition of his composing a poem in praise of the Scottish victory. This he did, in a monkish kind of rhyme, consisting of a barbarous jingle of words, without sentiment, and often not very intelligible. Some historical facts, however, are confirmed by it ; for he makes express mention of the pits and ditches which had been digged, and of the stakes that were fixed in them, as also of the calthrops ; he gives also a list of the most distinguished of the English who were slain in the battle *. It begins with these lines :

De

* The authenticity of the barbarous composition ascribed to Baſton, and handed down by Fordun, hath never, as far as we have heard, been called in question. As he is the only writer, whose work hath come down to us, that had an opportunity of being an eye-witness of this obstinate engagement, having, according to his own account, been so near as to observe the fall of Sir Giles de Argentine, his authority might have been quoted with regard to fundry circumstances, particularly the

De planctu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo,
Rifum retrudio, dum tali themate ludo;
Rector coelestis, adhibens solamina moestis
Verax est testis, &c. &c.

The rencounter betwixt Randolph and Clifford is described in this manner:

Est dolor immensus, augente dolore dolorem
Est furor accensus, stimulante furore furorem,
Est clamor crescens, feriente priore priorem,
Est valor arefcens, frustrante valore valorem, &c. &c.

A different jingle is used to describe the heat and fury of the great battle, a specimen of which follows:

Hic rapit, hic capit, hic terit, hic ferit, ecce dolores,
Vox tonat, aes sonat, hic ruit, hic luit, arcta modo res,
Hic fecat, hic necat, hic docet, hic nocet, iste fugatur,
Hic latet, hic patet, hic premit, hic gemit, hic superatur,
&c. &c. *

A Scottish monk also composed a poem upon the same subject, but in a strain nothing superior, though a little more intelligible, a part of which we subjoin, as another

the pits, flakes, and calthrops, of all which he maketh mention in the following lines:

Machina plena malis pedibus formatur equinis,
Concavas, cum palis, ne pergant absque ruinis,
Plebs foveas fodit, ut per eas labantur equestres,
Et pereant, si quos videant transire pedestres.

* Fordun.

ther specimen of the uncouth poetry of that age :

M. semel et C. ter, semel X. J. jungito quater.
 Nato Baptista, nova gratia contigit ista,
 Quod Rex Scotorum, peditum cum parte suorum,
 Anglos prostravit, equites cum rege fugavit.
 Rivulus est super hoc testis, cognomine Bannock,
 In quo submersa jacuerunt corpora versa, &c. &c. *

A ballad was also composed in the Scottish language, and universally sung by women and children for several ages; the following fragment of which has been handed down to us.

Maydens of England, fore may ye mourne,
 Four Zour lemmons, Zou have lost at Bonockbor ne
 with Hevalo.

What weend the King of England
 To have gotten Scotland;
 with Rummelo.

This battle, which is one of the most remarkable ara's in the history of Scotland, was fought upon Monday the 24th of June 1314, a day distinguished in the Romish Callendar, as having been the day of John Baptist's nativity. The victory was attended with the most important consequences;

* Idem.

quences; it established Robert firmly upon his throne, which hitherto he had always found tottering beneath him, and settled a tranquillity, formerly unknown, throughout the kingdom*. The rich spoils found in the English camp also tended greatly to the increase of the national wealth. That people, imagining themselves certain of victory, had marched to it with all the parade of luxury†; but, upon their defeat, money, plate, rich armour, sumptuous furniture, fine equipages, and all the riches of their camp, fell into the hands of the Scots; these, together with the large sums paid by prison-

E c

ers

* The extensive possessions in the west of Scotland belonging to Baliol, together with the estates of the partizans of that prince, who appear to have been more numerous than is commonly imagined, falling under forfeiture, in consequence of this revolution, threw a greater balance of power into the hands of the crown, than it had possessed in sundry preceeding reigns. Robert retained some of these estates, as his own property, and bestowed the rest amongst his most trusty friends, who thereby became attached to his government by a new tie.

† Fordun.

ers of rank for their ransom, introduced a more plentiful circulation of money than had ever been known in the nation, the effects of which soon became every where visible. Several large houses, in different shires, were, according to traditions still current concerning them, first built after this battle. From that time too, the Scots began to study more elegance in their houses and gardens, and to give more attention to agriculture. For, however much they hated the English, and had been harraſſed by their unjust claims, they gradually adopted several of their customs, and found an advantage in cultivating fundry arts, which they had learned from them. In this they resembled those nations which were invaded by the Romans; and who came, by degrees, to imitate that people, and to practise those arts and customs, the first knowledge of which they had received from them.

S E C T.

S E C T. X.

The Battle of Sauchie Burn, or Field of Stirling.

NEVER was any race of Monarchs more unfortunate than the Scottish: Their reigns were generally turbulent and disastrous, and their own end often tragical. According to fabulous authors, more than one hundred had reigned before James VI. the half of whom died by violence. And of six successive princes, the immediate predecessors of that monarch, not one died a natural death. James III. came to an untimely end in the shire we are surveying.

A misunderstanding subsisted between this prince and several of the chief nobility, during a great part of his reign. A minute investigation of the various causes of which would be foreign to our purpose. James did not possess those talents for government which had distinguished several of his predecessors;

deceffors; for, though fundry wife and useful regulations were eftablifhed in his reign, and his errors have, no doubt, been much exaggerated by faction, yet it cannot be denied, that marks of an imprudent and feeble mind are vifible in the general tenor of his conduct.

A natural timidity of temper, together with a foolifh attention to aftrology, filled his mind with perpetual jealousy and fufpicion. A fondnefs for architecture, mufic, and other ftudies and amufements, which, though innocent and useful, were too trifling to engage the whole time and care of one, who held a fcepter over a fierce and turbulent people, rendered him averfe to public bufinefs. Indolence, and want of penetration, led him to make choice of minifters and favourites, who were not always the beft qualified for the trust committed to them.

The minifters of ftate had ufually been chofen from amongst the nobility; but, in the reign of James, the nobles, either from fear or hatred of them, or from a confcioufnefs of his own inability to maintain his

his dignity among them, were seldom consulted in affairs of government, and often denied access to the royal presence.

This could not fail to excite the displeasure of the Scottish barons, who were naturally haughty, and who, in former reigns, had not only been regarded as the companions and counsellors of their sovereigns, but had possessed the great offices of power and trust.

Their displeasure arose to indignation, when they beheld every mark of the royal confidence and favour conferred upon persons of mean rank, such as Cochran a mason; Hommil a taylor; Leonard a smith; Rodgers a musician; and Torrifan a fencing-master; whom James always kept about him, caressed with the fondest affection, and endeavoured to enrich with an imprudent liberality.

To redress this grievance, the barons had recourse to a method, altogether characteristic of that ferocity which had always distinguished them. Unacquainted with the slow and regular method adopted in modern times, of proceeding against royal favou-

favourites and evil counsellors, by impeachment, they seized upon those of James by violence, tore them from his presence, and, without any form of trial, executed them with a military dispatch and rigour. So gross an insult could not fail to have excited some degree of resentment, even in the most calm and gentle bosom; but true policy would have suggested to a wise prince, as soon as the shock of passion had subsided, the necessity of relinquishing measures, which had given so great offence to subjects so powerful as the Scottish barons were at that time; for their power was become so predominant, by a concurrence of other causes, besides the nature of the feudal constitution, that the combination of a few of them was able to shake the throne. The attachment of James to favourites was, notwithstanding, so immoderate, that he soon made choice of new ones, who became more assuming than the former, and consequently objects of greater detestation to the barons, especially to those, who, by their near residence to the court, had frequent opportunities

nities of beholding their ostentation and insolence.

At length matters came to an open rupture. A party of the nobility, after a series of combinations amongst themselves, took to arms; and having, either by persuasion or force, prevailed upon the Duke of Rothsay, the King's eldest son, a youth of fifteen, to join them, they, in his name, erected their standard against their sovereign; who, roused by the intelligence of such operations, quitted his retirement, and also took the field. An accommodation at first took place, but upon what terms, is not known. The transactions of the latter part of this reign are variously related by historians, and but darkly by the best. Those who lived nearest the time, and had fullest opportunities of information, probably found, that they could not be explicit, without being obliged to throw reflections upon either the father or son; and, therefore, saw it prudent to be upon the reserve. Some affirm, that the malcontents proposed, that James should resign his crown in behalf of his son; but this accommodation, whatever the

the articles of it were, as it appears to have been attended with no mutual confidence, was of a very short duration. New occasions of discord soon arose. The malcontents asserted, that James had not fulfilled his part of the treaty ; but ignorance of the articles thereof renders us unable to form any certain judgment of the truth of that charge. There are, however, strong presumptions of its truth. The Earls of Huntly, Errol, Marchal, the Lord Glamis, with sundry others, who had hitherto adhered to James, left him at this time, and joined the disaffected party. And, in the act of parliament, intitled the proposition of the debate of the field of Stirling, which was framed soon after the King's death, his receding from certain articles, which he had formerly consented to, as a foundation of peace, is expressly assigned as the reason which determined these Lords to that sudden change. It declares, that the late King, by perverse counsel of divers persons, who were with him at the time, had broken certain articles, which he had subscribed and consented to; whereupon, the Earl of Huntly,

ly, and sundry others of the King's lieges, forsook him, and adhered to our sovereign Lord that now is. It is certain, that the confederacy began now to spread wider than ever, so as to comprehend almost all the barons, and consequently all their military vassals and retainers, upon the south side of the Grampian mountains.

James having the prospect of new hostilities, shut himself up in the castle of Edinburgh, as a place of safety, till, by the arrival of his northern subjects, whom he had summoned to his assistance, he should be in a condition to take the field. But, as Stirling was reckoned more convenient for the rendezvous of the northern clans, he was advised to go thither. But, upon his arrival, he was denied access into the castle, by James Shaw the governor, who favoured the other party. And while he was deliberating what step to take upon this unexpected incident, intelligence was brought, that the disaffected Lords, at the head of a considerable army, had advanced to the Torwood, within a few miles of him. The only alternative was, either to make his

F f

escape

escape by going aboard admiral Wood's fleet, which was stationed in the river Forth, near Alloa, or to engage the enemy with what forces he had already collected. Tho' not distinguished for courage, he resolved upon the latter, and prepared for battle.

The two armies met in a tract of ground, which now goes by the name of *Little Cangler*, upon the east side of a small brook called *Sauchie burn*, about two miles south from Stirling, and one mile from the famous field of *Bannockburn*. The royal army was drawn up in three divisions; but historians differ as to their numbers; some, beyond all probability, making them amount to above thirty thousand. The Earls of Mentieth and Crawford, the Lords Erskine, Graham, Ruthven, and Maxwell, with Sir David Lindsay of Byres, were each of them intrusted with a military command; though we are not certainly informed how these leaders, with their several divisions, were arranged. Nor is it agreed in what part the King had his station; only, we are told, that he was armed cap-a-pee, and mounted on a stately horse, which

which had been presented to him by Sir David Lindsay, who informed his Majesty, that he might at any time trust his life to his agility and sure-footedness, provided he could keep his seat on the saddle.

The army of the malcontents, which amounted to eighteen thousand, of which the greatest part were cavalry, was likewise ranged in three divisions. The first, which was composed of East-Lothian and Merse men, was commanded by the Lords Hume and Hailes, whose discontent arose from the King's annexing to his chapel-royal at Stirling, the revenues of the priory of Coldingham, to the disposal of which they claimed a right. The second line, which was made up of the inhabitants of Galloway, and the shires upon the borders, was led by Lord Gray; and the Prince had the name of commanding what was called the main body, though he was entirely under the direction of the Lords about him. Showers of arrows from both sides began the action; but they soon came to a closer engagement with lances and swords.

The

The royalists at first gained an advantage, and drove back the first line of the enemy; but these being soon supported by the borderers, who composed the second line, not only recovered their ground, but pushed the first and second lines of the royalists back to the third.

The small courage James possessed, forsaking him at the first onset, he put spurs to his horse, and galloped off, with a view to get aboard admiral Wood's ships, which lay in sight, at the distance of five miles; at least, from the rout he took, this is supposed to have been his intention. As he was crossing the brook of Bannockburn, at the small village of Miltown, a mile eastward of the field of battle, a woman happened to be drawing water at the brook; but, upon observing a man in armour galloping full speed towards her, she left her pitcher, and ran off, afraid of being rode down. The horse starting at the sight of the pitcher, threw the King, who was so bruised with the fall, and the weight of his armour, that he fainted away. This disaster happening within a few yards of a miln,

miln, from which the village derives its name, the miller and his wife carried him into the miln; and, though ignorant of his name and station, treated him with great humanity, administering to him such cordials as their house could afford. When the King had recovered a little, he called for a priest, to whom, as a dying man, he might make confession. Those about him demanding who he was, he replied, 'I was your King this morning.' By this time, some of the malcontents, who, having observed the King's flight, had left the battle to pursue him, were come up to the place, and, as they were passing, the miller's wife, clapping her hands, with astonishment and grief, called out, that, if there was any priest among them, he would instantly stop and confess the King.

'I am a priest, said one of them, lead me to his Majesty.' This person, being introduced, found the King lying in a corner of the miln, covered with a coarse cloth; and, approaching him on his knees, under pretence of respect, while treachery filled his heart,

heart, asked him, if he thought he could recover, if he had the proper help of physicians? James having answered in the affirmative, the ruffian pulled out a dagger and stabbed him several times in the heart*. The name of the person is not certainly known; nor would the discovery add much to the stock of historical knowledge. Buchanan says, that three persons pursued the King; and that these were, Lord Gray, Stirling of Kier, and a priest named Borthwick, one of whom gave him the fatal stroke. This, however, is by no means probable with respect to Lord Gray, whose high command in the field of battle, at that very time, was likely to require all his attention.

The place where this barbarity was committed is well known in that neighbourhood by the name of *Beaton's-miln*, said to be so called from the person who at that time possessed it; it is yet standing, tho' now converted into a dwelling-house, new and more commodious milns having been erected near it. The lower parts of its walls are still the same which received the
unfortunate

* Lindsay of Pitscottie.

unfortunate James. The stones wear the marks of antiquity, being much mouldered by the weather in the course of so many ages. The upper part of the fabric has been renewed; and the reparations that it hath undergone seem to have had no other design than to perpetuate the memory of that tragical event, the circumstances of which have been so carefully handed down by tradition, that they are still related by the inhabitants of the village, and perfectly correspond to the accounts which we meet with in the best historians.

After the King's flight, his troops continued to fight with great bravery; but, at last, finding themselves unable to stand their ground any longer, and discouraged by an uncertain rumour of his death, they began to retreat towards Stirling. They were not hotly pursued, for hostilities immediately ceased. The army of the confederates lay that night upon the field, and next day marched back to Linlithgow. The number of the slain, upon both sides, is uncertain, though it must have been considerable; for

for the action lasted several hours, and was well maintained by the combatants on each side; and some of high rank fell upon the side of the royalists, among whom was the Earl of Glencairn.

When the Prince, who, before the battle, had given a strict charge concerning the safety of his father's person, heard the rumour of his death, he was deeply affected; but it was not till some days after that he obtained the certainty thereof; for, if any of the confederate Lords were in the secret, they kept it carefully from the Prince, and from the rest. A report was spread that the King had gone aboard Admiral Wood's ships, and was still alive; but the admiral, being called before the young King and the council, declared, that he knew nothing of his late master. So little had this Prince been accustomed to his father's company, that he was almost a stranger to his person; for, when Wood appeared before him, struck with his stately appearance, or perhaps with some resemblance he bore to the late King, he seriously asked him, 'Sir,
' are

‘are you my father *?’ To which the Admiral, bursting into tears, replied, ‘I am not your father, but I was your father’s true servant †.’ At last the body of the King was discovered, and carried to the palace in Stirling castle, where it lay till it was interred, with all due honour, in the burial place of Cambuskenneth, near to that of his Queen, who had died not long before ‡. The inhabitants of that place still pretend to show a spot in which a King and a Queen are said to be buried; but no monument is to be seen. This battle was fought upon the 11th of June 1488, and was called the Field of Stirling.

The confederate Lords endeavoured to atone for their treatment of their late sovereign by their loyalty and duty towards his son, whom they instantly placed upon the
 G g throne.

* It is said, that a wizard told James III. that he should be destroyed by the nearest of his kin; after which he entertained a constant jealousy of his own children, so that they were seldom admitted to any intercourse with him.

† Pitscottie. ‡ Idem. Buchan.

throne. They deemed it also requisite, for their future security, to have a parliamentary indemnity for their proceedings. Accordingly, in a parliament that met soon after, they obtained a vote, by which all that had been done in the Field of Stirling was justified, and declared to have been lawful, on account of the necessity they lay under of employing force against the King's evil counsellors, the enemies of the kingdom. This vote, in the records, is called *The proposition of the debate of the Field of Stirling.*

The far greater part of the nation, upon the south side of the Tay, soon acknowledged the authority of the new King; and the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling were yielded up to him. Sir John Lundie was made governor of Stirling, in preference to Shaw, whose late treachery had rendered him detestable, even to the party whose interest he intended to serve; the usual and just reward of perfidy *.

The

* Pitscottie.

The northern clans, who had adhered to the late King, did not so speedily submit to the present, but entered into a combination to revenge his death upon those who had taken up arms against him, and who were still thought to keep his son a sort of captive among them. In the beginning of next year, Lord Forbes made a tour thro' the northern shires, to excite the inhabitants to join in the enterprize; and he accompanied his arguments with an address to their passions, by displaying the bloody shirt of the murdered King upon the point of a lance. At the same time, the Earl of Lennox, who had espoused the same cause, raised his vassals and retainers, to the number of two thousand, and marched northward, in order to form a junction with Forbes; but, as the King and the confederate Lords were in possession of Stirling, he crossed the Forth several miles above that town; and, night coming on, encamped on the confines of Menteith, in a field adjoining to Tilly-moss, which is now called *Moss-Flanders*, though the ancient name is still

still preserved in Sashen-tilly milns in its neighbourhood. Having no suspicion of danger, and intending to proceed in his march early next morning, he lay in a careless posture, and even had not been so cautious as to set a regular watch. This tempted one M'Karpine to form a treacherous design: He stole away to Stirling, and gave information of the place where the Earl was encamped, and of the careless posture in which he lay; upon which John Drummond, steward of Strathern, one of the chief of the confederates, quickly setting out with a considerable body of men, surprised the unwary Earl, and, with little bloodshed, dispersed his army*.

The northern clans, hearing of the defeat of Lennox, immediately submitted to the new King, and the whole kingdom soon united in acknowledging his authority; and, as a sort of penance for the unnatural part he had acted towards his father, that Monarch, according to the superstitious notions of those times, ever after wore

* Buchan. Leslie.

wore an iron girdle upon his body, to which a link was added every year ; so that, if he had lived to old age, it must have become very ponderous *.

S E C T XI.

The Castle of Stirling.

THE town of Stirling is situated upon a hill ; which, gradually rising from the east, terminates abruptly in a steep rock, upon the extremity of which the castle is built. This fortress is of great antiquity, though no certain account can be given of its first erection. Old chronicles inform us, that Agricola raised fortifications upon the rock on which it stands † ; nor is it improbable that the Romans had a station there, in which they made the necessary preparations for the passage of the Forth, and the invasion of Caledonia. Their military causeway points directly to this town, from the

* Pitscottie.

† Boet. lib. 4.

the south ; and appears again, going out from it, upon the north. Some are of opinion, that Stirling is the place to which Ptolomy gives the name of *Vindovara*. But that geographer gives to his *Vindovara* a more westerly situation, rather answering to that of Paisley, or some place in its neighbourhood, than to Stirling.

The remote antiquities of Scotland, like those of most other nations, are involved in so great obscurity and confusion, that few accounts of events, which happened in it, prior to the twelfth century, can be depended upon ; we learn, however, from those feeble glimmerings of light, which we possess, and are fond to make use of, in the absence of better, that the rock of Stirling was strongly fortified by the Picts, amongst whom architecture, and sundry other useful arts, had made a considerable progress. As it lay near the extremities of their kingdom, the possession of it was the occasion of frequent contests betwixt them and their neighbours, the Scots and Northumbrians, each of whose dominions did for some time terminate near it. From those
contests

contests it is supposed to have derived its name; for *Stryveling*, which was the ancient name of the place, signifieth the hill or rock of Strife, to which the monkish writers seem to allude, when they give it the Latin name of *Mons dolorum* *.

When the Scots, under Kenneth II. overthrew the Pictish empire, towards the middle of the ninth century, they endeavoured to obliterate every memorial of that people; they not only gave new names to provinces and towns, but, with all the rage of barbarians, demolished many magnificent and useful edifices which had been reared up by them, and this fortress among the rest; it was, however soon rebuilt, though, upon an occasion not very honourable to the Scots.

Upon the death of Kenneth II. in 855, his brother Donald V. mounted the throne of Scotland. Historians differ widely in their accounts of the last named prince, some representing him as valiant and wise; others, as utterly void of every good qualification,

* Boet.

fication, and much addicted to every vice. In the beginning of his reign, the kingdom was invaded by Osbrecht and Ella, two Northumbrian princes; who, uniting their forces with the Cumbrian Britons, and a number of Picts, who, upon their expulsion from their native country, had taken refuge in England, advanced to Jedburgh, where Donald encountered them, and, after an obstinate and bloody engagement, obtained a compleat victory; but, pushing the advantage he had gained no farther than to make himself master of Berwick, he took up his station in that town, in supine security; safe, as he imagined, from any attack from an enemy, which he had so lately vanquished in battle. But the Northumbrians, informed of the careless posture in which the Scottish army lay, surprised them by a hasty march, dispersed them, and made a prisoner of the unwary King. Pursuing too the advantage they had gained, they marched northward, and subdued all before them to the Frith of Forth and town of Stirling. But the forlorn situation of the Scots, without a King,

King, and without an army, obliging them to sue for peace, they obtained it upon condition that they should pay a large sum of money for the ransom of the King, and yield up all their dominions upon the southside of the Forth to the Northumbrians, and thole upon the south of Clyde, with the town of Dumbarton, to the Cumbrians. The Northumbrians taking possession of the territories ceded to them by this treaty, rebuilt the castle of Stirling, and planted it with a strong garrison, in order to preserve their new conquests, upon the frontiers of which it was situated. Our authorities also inform us, that they erected a stone bridge over the Forth, upon the summit of which a cross was raised, with the following inscription in monkish rhyme.

Anglos a Scotis separat crux ista remotis,
Hic armis Bruti. Scoti stant hic cruce tuti.

Which is thus translated by Bellenden :

I am free marche, as passengers may ken,
To Scottis, to Britonis, and to Inglismen *.

H h

Fordun

* Boet. Lib. x.

Fordun takes no notice of this conquest, nor of the captivity of Donald, though he mentions a defeat of the Picts by that Monarch ; neither do the antient English historians, though they mention two Northumbrian princes, named Osbrecht and Ella, who lived at that time, and who both perished in 866, in an attack upon the city of York, which had been seized upon by the Danes. The whole story, as well as the inscription, wears much of a monkish garb ; yet its authenticity is, in some degree, confirmed by the arms of the town of Stirling, upon which is a bridge, with a cross in the middle of it, and the last line of the above Latin distich as a motto around it.

We must not, however, imagine that, in those times, that fortress bore any resemblance to the present structure, which is adapted to the use of fire arms. Its size and form probably resembled those castles which, under the feudal constitution, the English and Scottish barons used to erect upon their estates for dwelling-houses, and which, in those barbarous ages, they found necessary to fortify for their own defence, not only
against

against foreign invaders, but often against the attacks of their nearest neighbours. It is directly such a Gothic figure as this which represents the *Castrum Strivelsenſe* on the arms of Stirling.

This fortress, after it had continued in the possession of the Northumbrian Saxons about twenty years, was, together with the whole country upon the south side of the Forth, restored to the Scots, upon condition of their assisting the Saxons against their turbulent invaders the Danes.

Upon the arms of Stirling are two branches of a tree, to represent the *nemus Strivelsenſe*, or Forest of Stirling; but the situation and boundaries of that forest, which was probably a wing of the Caledonian, cannot be ascertained. Vestiges of a forest are still discernible for several miles; banks of natural timber still remain in the castle-park, at Murray's-wood, and near Nether Bannockburn; and stumps of trees, with much brush-wood, are still to be seen in all the adjacent fields.

When Kenneth III. received intelligence of the Danes having invaded his dominions,

nions, he appointed the castle of Stirling to be the place of rendezvous for his army; and he marched from thence to the battle of Loncarty, where he obtained a signal victory over these rovers in the end of the tenth century.

In the twelfth century, this castle is spoken of as a place of great importance, and one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom. In 1174, a calamity, not unusual among the Scottish monarchs, befel William, surnamed the Lion, who at that time occupied the throne: He was taken prisoner in an unsuccessful expedition which he made into England; and, after having been detained twelve months in captivity, was released, upon stipulating to pay a large sum of money for his ransom, and, until payment thereof, delivering into the hands of the English the four principal fortresses in the kingdom, which, in those days, were Stirling, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and Berwick *, and, over and above, to do homage for

* Dumbarton castle was at that time only the principal dwelling of the old Earls of Lennox. It was

for his whole kingdom. This was the first great ascendant that England obtained over Scotland ; and indeed the most important transaction that had passed between these kingdoms since the Norman conquest. It happened in the reign of Henry II. but his successor Richard I. remitted what of the ransom-money remained unpaid at his accession, restored the fortresses, and renounced all claim to the superiority of Scotland, upon condition of William's advancing a certain sum of money towards a crusade to the Holy-land, upon which the English Monarch was much intent.

The Scottish monarchs, in their frequent perambulations through the kingdom, often visited Stirling, and held their courts and parliaments in the castle ; but it did not become a fixed royal residence till the family of Stewart mounted the throne ; and it was from different Princes of that family that it received its present form. It was the place of the nativity of James II. who often

was not till 1238 that Maldwin, third Earl of Lennox, made a surrender of it into the hands of Alexander II. who erected it into a royal fortress.

often resided in it after he came to the throne : It is well known to have been the place where that Prince perpetrated an atrocious deed, which fixes an indelible stain on his reign ; namely, the murder of William Earl of Douglas, whom he stabbed with his own hand, in direct violation of a writ of safety which he had granted him. The royal apartments were, at that time, in the north-west corner of the castle, and are, at present, partly the residence of the fort-major, and partly occupied by the armoury. The closet where that murder was committed still goes by the name of *Douglas-room*.

James III. contracting a peculiar fondness for the castle, on account of its pleasant situation, made it the chief place of his residence, in which he shut himself up so closely with his favourites, that the nobility and barons were seldom admitted to any intercourse with him. He erected several new structures in it, besides repairing and embellishing those that had fallen into decay. He built a large hall, which, in those days, was deemed a noble and magnificent fabric. That hall is still intire, and goes by the
the

the name of the *Parliament-house*, having been intended for the accommodation of that supreme court, as well as for other solemn purposes; it is covered with an oaken roof, of exquisite workmanship, and full of carvings upon the wood, according to the taste of that time. This roof is not much decayed, though it hath stood near three hundred years *. James also erected a college of secular priests in the castle, and raised, for their accommodation, a fabric, which he called the *Chapel-royal*, and which was

* The sayings of young Princes are often reckoned important, though they are generally no more so than those of other children. In 1571, the Earl of Marr carried his royal pupil, James VI. then five years of age, into the hall, when the parliament, called the *black parliament*, by those that adhered to Queen Mary, was sitting; the Prince, espying a small chink in the roof, which let in the light, asked the Earl, What was the name of the house? Being told it was called the parliament-house, he replied, My Lord, there is a hole in this parliament. So early, it seems, did James give presages of his being a punster; though very grave historians have transmitted this speech as if it had been an omen of the death of Regent Lennox, who was killed before that parliament rose.

was demolished by James VI. in 1594, who erected, in the same spot, the present chapel. It was observed, in a former section, that this chapel proved one of the causes of the ruin of James III. and that the institution of the college, for which it was designed, was completed by his son James IV.

James V. was crowned in the castle of Stirling; and the palace, which is the chief ornament of it, was the work of that Prince. This is a stately and commodious structure, all of hewn stone, with much statuary work upon it; it is built in form of a square, with a small court in the middle, in which the King's lions are said to have been kept, and from thence it still goes by the name of the *lions-den*. The palace contains many large and elegant apartments. The ground story is now converted into barrack-rooms for the soldiers of the garrison; the upper affords a house for the governor, with lodgings for the subaltern officers.

Opposite to the palace upon the north, stands an elegant chapel of hewn stone, which was built by James VI. for the baptism of his son Prince Henry, in 1594. In
this

this chapel, which is now employed as a store-house, is preserved the hulk of a boat, which that whimsical monarch caused to be built, and placed upon carriages, in order to convey into the great hall, the provisions for a grand repast to the foreign ambassadors, and other company, that attended that solemnity; and, upon the roof, hangs a piece of square wood, on which are carved models of the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Dumbarton, and Blackness.

A strong battery, with a tire of guns, pointing to the bridge over the Forth, was erected during the regency of Mary of Lorraine, mother to Queen Mary; it is called the French battery, probably, as having been constructed by engineers of that nation. The last addition was made to the fortifications in the reign of Queen Anne. Formerly they reached no farther than the old gate, upon which the flag-staff now stands; but, in that reign, they were considerably enlarged upon the side next the town; and barracks, which are bomb-proof, with sundry other conveniencies, in case of a siege, were erected; though, from the abrupt and

unfinished manner in which some parts of the walls have been left, it appears, that the whole plan, which, at that time, had been formed, has not been compleatly executed.

Immediately adjoining to the buildings of the castle, upon the north, is an eminence, comprehending a few acres of ground, which, being inclosed with a strong wall, planted with guns, makes a part of the fortifications. In this inclosure, which is called the Nether Bailliery, is the well which supplies the garrison with water.

Upon the south-west of the castle lies a large park, inclosed with a stone wall, called the King's park, where the court used to divert themselves with hunting of the deer, which were kept in it. This park, together with the Gowan-hill, and fundry other parcels of ground around the garrison, form a small jurisdiction, called the Constabulary of the castle. At the east end of the park lay the royal gardens; vestiges of the walks and parterres, with a few stumps of fruit trees, are still visible; but, by long neglect, and the natural wetness of the

the foil, the place is now little better than a marsh.

In the gardens is a mount of earth, in form of a table, called the *Knot*, with benches of earth around it, where, according to tradition, the court sometimes held *fetes champetres* *. Around the gardens, too, are vestiges of a canal, upon which the royal family and court used to divert themselves in pleasure-boats. In the castle-hill is an hollow, called the *Valley*, comprehending about an acre of ground, and having all

* Barbour, in his account of the battle of Bannockburn, makes mention of a round table, which was at that time at the foot of the castle. He says, that, when Edward of England was told by Moubray, the governor, that he could not expect safety by being admitted into the castle, 'he took the way beneath the castle, by the round table.' If this was the same table which is still to be seen, it is of great antiquity, and was probably in that place long before the gardens were formed; perhaps, it was a place where they exercised the pastime, called the *knights of the round table*, of which several of the Scottish monarchs, particularly James IV. are said to have been peculiarly fond; though, perhaps, an utter ignorance of the nature of that amusement hath put us wrong in this conjecture.

all the appearance of an artificial work, which was used for justings and tournaments, with other feats of chivalry; and closely adjoining to this valley, upon the south, is a small rocky mount, rising in form of a pyramid, and called the *Ladies hill*, upon which the ladies of the court took their station to behold these exercises.

Opposite to the castle, upon the north, lies the *Gowan hill*, upon which is a stone, with an inscription, but it is unintelligible; nor does it appear, from the form of the letters, to be of any great antiquity. Upon the northern extremity of this hill, near the bridge, is a small mount, well known in the neighbourhood by the uncouth name of *Hurly-haaky*, surrounded at the top with a parapet of earth, and having other remains of artificial works upon it. Upon this mount, Duncan Earl of Lennox, with his son-in-law, Murdoch Duke of Albany, who had been sometime governor of the realm, was beheaded, May 18th 1425, as were Walter and Alexander Stewarts, sons of that Duke, the day following. No historian specifies the crime for which they suffered;

suffered; we are only informed, that it was for high crimes and misdemeanors, which has led some to conclude, that they had been guilty of crimes too gross to be mentioned; but it hath tempted others to conjecture, that the great estates of Lennox, Montieth, and Fyfe, of which they were possessed, and which, by their forfeiture, fell to the crown, were the causes of their sufferings. They were, indeed, tried and condemned by a jury, composed of some of the principal men in the nation; but, it is well known, that, in those days, state-trials were commonly little more than mere formalities, and sentence was often pronounced upon general charges, without evidence, and sometimes without examination of witnesses; they were a kind of ostracism, practised by the court, when it wished to get rid of a powerful subject, or possess the estate of an opulent one. The court, in which the trial proceeded, was held in the castle, and the whole was carried on under the immediate eye of James I. who was present with an uncommon majesty, being seated upon a throne, with his robes, crown, and

and scepter; and the sentence appears to have been highly acceptable to him.

In ancient times, courts for the administration of justice were generally held in the open fields *, and judgment was both given and executed in the same place. In every

* This appears to have been the custom of almost all nations in the more early days of their state, and that not only to give to their judicial procedures a greater appearance of impartiality and justice, by being carried on in public view, but, because there were not houses large enough to contain the numbers that usually attended them. The court of Areopagus at Athens sat, for many years after its first institution, in the open air, as did the antient courts of the Egyptians, Gauls, and Germans: The Saxons ordinarily held their national councils on eminences, hence they were called *Folk motes*, that is, *the hill of the people*; twice a year too there were general meetings in every shire, which were called *shire motes*. After the Norman conquest, this practice was not discontinued. Running-meadow, between Windsor and Staines, will ever be celebrated as having been the place of the confirmation of *Magna Charta*. Interior courts of judicature, for the administration of justice, were also held in the open air, both in England and Scotland; hence they were called *justice-air*s. The vestiges of mote hills, where barony courts were held, are to be seen almost every where.

every earldom, and almost in every barony and jurisdiction of any considerable extent, there was a particular place allotted for that purpose. It was generally a small eminence, either natural or artificial, near the principal mansion-house, and was called the mote-hill; or, in Latin, *Mons placiti*. In that place, all the vassals of the jurisdiction were obliged to appear at certain times, and the superior gave judgment in such causes as fell within the powers committed to him by law or custom. In the same spot too, the gallows was ordinarily erected for the execution of capital sentences; hence these places commonly go by the name of the *gallows knoll*. Near the royal palaces there was usually a mote hill, where all the freeholders of the kingdom met together, both to transact public affairs, and to do homage to their sovereign, who was seated upon the top of the eminence. The mote hill at Scoon is at this day universally known. It is highly probable, that *Hurly Haaky* was the mote hill of the castle of Stirling, or perhaps of a much larger jurisdiction. In 1360, a deadly feud, which had long subsisted

sisted between the Drummonds and Men-
teiths, at that time two of the most power-
ful families in Perth-shire, and which had
been the cause of much rapine and blood-
shed, was composed by the interposition of
Sir Robert Erskine and Sir Hugh Eglinton,
the two great justiciaries of the nation, in
this neighbourhood, if not upon this very
mount. Our authority says, ‘ Super ri-
pam aquae de Forth, juxta Strivelyn *.

The Lordship and castle of Stirling were
a part of the usual dowry of the Queens of
Scotland, at least after the family of Stew-
art came to the throne, in which they were
invested at their marriage. A small peninsu-
la betwixt the bridge and the old Abbacy of
Cambuskenneth, still goes by the name of
the *Queen's-haugh*, having been the place,
where, according to tradition, the Queen's
cows usually grazed. The charter to a small
parcel of ground, within the constabulary,
mentions its having been granted to the
first possessor, for the service of taking care
of the Queen's poultry and washing-tubs.
Upon

* Crawford's state officers, p. 292.

Upon the north-west of the castle is a steep path, leading up to the town, called *Ballochgeich*. James V. who often travelled through the country in disguise, under pretence of discovering thieves and robbers, but as much to carry on amorous intrigues, used, when asked who he was, to call himself the *Good-man of Ballochgeich*.

Sir Robert Erskine was appointed governor of the castle by King David Bruce, in 1370; and, for the sustenance of the garrison, he had a grant of twelve chalders of oat meal, and fourteen chalders of other grain, with two hundred merks, which were yearly payable to the crown, out of the feus of Bothkennar. He obtained likewise a grant of the whole feus and revenues in the shire of Stirling, which belonged to the crown, with the wardships, escheats, and other emoluments annexed to them *. The office continued in that family till the forfeiture of the Earl of Mar, in 1715.

The prospect from the castle is most delightful, as well as extensive, being great-

K k ly

* Crawford's State officers.

ly beautified, especially upon the east, by the windings of the Forth, which are so many, that, though the distance by land, from the bridge of Stirling to the town of Alloa, is no more than four miles, it is said to be twenty-four by water. As this river generally runs upon plain and level ground, it rolls its stream in so flow and silent a manner, that, what Silius Italicus saith of the Ticinus, is very applicable to it, if, instead of *lucenti*, in that poet, we should for once read *lutofo*; for the clayish banks, together with the tide, which flows above Stirling, render the Forth perpetually thick and muddy.

Vix credas labi, ripis tam mitis opacis
Somniferam ducit *lutofo* gurgite lympham.

This fortress has been the scene of many transactions, too inconsiderable to be mentioned in a general survey. As its situation renders it a sort of key to the northern parts of the kingdom, the possession of it hath always been esteemed of importance to those who sought to be masters of Scotland;

Scotland; and from thence, the sieges and revolutions it hath undergone have afforded much matter for history.

Mention hath been made, in a former section, of a bloody battle, fought about the middle of the ninth century, between the Picts and Scots, in the reign of Kenneth II. upon the banks of Forth, near Stirling, in which the latter obtained the victory. After this success, Kenneth made a conquest of Fife, Angus, and the greatest part of the Pictish dominions upon the north side of the Forth, and planted garrisons in them. Next year, marching southward, he laid siege to the castle of Stirling, in which the Picts had a strong garrison; but, as he lay before it, he received intelligence, that the inhabitants of Fife and Angus, having made an insurrection, had mastered his garrisons, and massacred all the Scots that were among them; and that a new army was assembled under Druskenus, their King. This intelligence obliged him to raise the siege, and march with all his forces against the enemy, whom he came up with at Scoon, upon the banks of Tay, and, after a
fierce

fierce and bloody engagement, in which the Picts are said to have returned to the charge no less than seven times, he obtained a compleat victory, which put a final period to the ancient empire of that people *. All the strengths possessed by them were, in a few months, yielded up to Kenneth, who demolished many of them, and that of Stirling among the rest; it was, however, rebuilt by the Northumbrians, upon an occasion already mentioned, and hath continued to be a royal fortress ever since.

A minute detail of all the sieges and revolutions which this fortress underwent, during the contests with England, would afford but small entertainment. In the space of little more than forty years, the English were four times in possession of it, and as often was it wrested from them by the Scots.

In 1296, Edward I. enraged at Baliol's renunciation of his allegiance, marched into Scotland with a great army, and, like a torrent, carried all before him. The strongest

* Boet lib. 10. Buchan. lib. 5.

est fortresses yielded, almost upon his approach; and that of Stirling, being deserted by its garrison, made no defence at all *. When the Earl of Surry was obliged to retreat to England, after the battle of Stirling, in 1297, he left the castle under the command of Sir Marmaduke de Twenge †. But the English dominion, in Scotland, was never of long duration, nor in a state of tranquillity, having been usually lost by revolutions, as quick as those by which it was acquired. Sir Marmaduke soon found himself obliged to abandon his station, and retire; upon which, the castle was taken possession of by Wallace, and the Scots ‡, who kept it till the next year, when, after their defeat at Falkirk, they were obliged to abandon it, after having burned and demolished the fortifications §. It was, however, in a few weeks after, repaired by Edward, who planted it with a strong garrison; and, upon his return to England, left them well supplied with provisions ||. In
1299,

* Trivet. Hemingford. † Idem. ‡ Tyrrel.

§ Trivet. || Hemingford,

1299, the Scots recovering their spirits, and taking up arms under the direction of the guardians, who were William Frazer bishop of St. Andrew's, Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, and John Cumming of Badenoch, drove the English invaders out of most parts of the kingdom, and laid siege to this castle. An army, which was raised to cover the siege, was posted at the Torwood, from whence the guardians wrote a letter to Edward, containing proposals of an armistice, and wishing him health, and the spirit of charity towards his neighbours *; the proposal, however, was not relished by that monarch, who, instead of assenting to it, assembled an army, in order to march to the relief of the garrison. But the discontents of his barons, on account of encroachments he had made upon their privileges, together with the advanced season of the year, obliged him to stop at Berwick, and the garrison of Stirling, finding their expectations of relief cut off, were forced to capitulate †.

Next

* Rhymer's foedera, vol. II. p. 859. † Hemingford.

Next year Edward assembled an army, and marched into Scotland, where, among other feats, he invested the castle of Stirling, and besieged it with a large train of artillery; it was commanded by Sir William Oliphant, a brave officer, who held it out three months. So vigorous a defence provoked Edward, that he ordered two pair of gallows to be erected in sight of the garrison, and proclamation to be made in their audience, that, if they did not surrender against a certain time, every man of them should be hanged without mercy*. They surrendered before the day prefixed, though rather from want of provisions, than fear of Edward's menaces; they were not however so far reduced, as not to be able to make an honourable capitulation. But the souls of conquerors have seldom been found to be so great as their names; instead of punctually observing the articles of capitulation, the English monarch treated the garrison with great inhumanity.

After

* Tyrrell.

After the celebrated victory at Roslin in 1303, a party of Scots, under the command of Sir John de Foulis, laid siege to the fortress, and, after a short defence, the garrison was forced to capitulate for want of provisions. It is said they were betrayed by a messenger, who put into the hands of the Scottish leaders a letter designed for Edward, which contained an account of the extremity to which they were reduced*. The command of the castle, upon its surrender, was given to Oliphant the former governor. That same year Edward, at the head of a fine army, began to besiege it, but was not able to reduce it, till after a siege of twelve months. This was the most memorable siege that it ever underwent. Having been unsuccessful the first campaign, he led his army into winter-quarters; he took up his own lodgings in the palace of Dumfermline, where he was visited by his Queen; and his son the prince of Wales lay at Perth, with a strong party. During the recess, he made formidable preparations

* Tyrrell,

parations for renewing the siege early in the spring; he caused the lead to be stripped off several large roofs in St. Andrew's, not sparing the cathedral itself, to supply his battering engines; which, as soon as the season of the year would permit, were planted against the walls, and the governor was summoned to surrender, but without effect; upon which all the artillery was collected, and the walls were furiously battered with stones of two hundred pound weight, which made great breaches in them, yet the governor still refused to yield; upon which the assailants proceeded to fill up the fosses with timber, in order to take the place by storm; but their works were immediately burnt by the besieged. So intent was Edward upon the reduction of the place, that he exposed his own person to great danger. As he was riding amongst his works, an arrow from the castle had killed him outright, if he had not been protected, by being clad in armour. Holding the weapon up, he threatened to hang the man who shot it, and after having filled the fosse with earth and stones, he ordered a general

assault to be made. By this time, the reiterated attacks of the besiegers had made great breaches in the walls, and the garrison was so diminished, as to consist only of twenty eight persons, two of whom were friars, and these extremely weakened with watching and fatigue; apprehending, therefore, that a general assault would overpower them, they offered to capitulate*.

The Scottish historians affirm, that a capitulation was signed by both parties; but that Edward, in direct violation thereof, sent the governor prisoner to England, where he remained several years in confinement†.

The English writers assert, that Edward would grant no terms, but those of surrendering at discretion; and that the garrison should march out bare-footed, with ropes about their necks, and, in that condition, publicly implore the conqueror's mercy; yea, some writers of that nation have contaminated their page, by extolling it as an act of clemency in Edward, to spare the
lives

* Trivet. Hemingford.

† Fordun.

lives of those brave men *. It is certain, that the garrison was sent to different jails in England, and the governor to the tower of London †, where he continued for four years ‡.

The castle surrendered upon the twenty second of July 1304, and the command of it was given by Edward to William Bizet a Scotsman, who was also appointed sheriff of Stirling. The English kept possession of it at that time for the space of ten years.

In the spring of the year 1313, Edward Bruce, brother to King Robert, laid siege to it; but, upon account of the vigorous defence made by Sir Philip Moubray the governor, he found himself obliged to abandon the enterprize; only, by a treaty between them, it was agreed, that, if no relief came from England before St. John's day 1314, the garrison should surrender to the Scots, and be allowed to pass unmolested to England. The defeat of a detachment of cavalry sent from the English camp,

* Tyrrell. † Trivet. Hemingford.

‡ Rhymer's foedera, vol. 3. p. 82.

camp, under the conduct of Lord Clifford, to the relief of the garrison, has been related in a former section. After the great victory at Bannockburn, the place surrendered to Robert, who treated the garrison with a humanity of which none of the Edwards had set an example.

In 1329, death deprived Scotland of the great Robert Bruce, who, by his valour, had recovered the independency of his country, and, by his wisdom, had preserved entire the whole political fabric thereof. He left only one son, named David, a minor of seven years of age, the guardianship of whom, together with that of the kingdom, was committed to Randolph, Earl of Murray, nephew of the late king, and a companion of all his victories.

No country hath suffered more from the frequent minorities of its princes than Scotland hath done. The death of Randolph, in two years after he had entered upon his regency, having left the young King, and the whole kingdom, in a forlorn and defenceless state. A new scene of confusion soon unfolded itself, which rendered the
 nation

nation a constant seat of war for many years. Edward Baliol, son of that John, who, in the end of the preceding century had been crowned king of Scotland, readily embraced so favourable an opportunity of reviving the claims of his family upon the crown. He was stimulated to the enterprize by the English court; and, though Edward III. who then occupied the throne, pretended at first to disavow it, yet he soon openly espoused his cause. Baliol's success at first was extremely rapid; in a few months, he over-ran the whole country like an inundation, and was crowned king at Scoon. But the Scots being generally unfriendly to his claims, both on account of his connection with England, and their own attachment to the Brucean line, took up arms, and turned him out of his kingdom, by a revolution as quick as that by which he had acquired it. The English monarch, to whom Baliol had engaged to do homage for his crown, incensed at the manner in which his vassal had been treated, assembled a numerous army, in order to reinstate him
in

in his royalty, or rather to attempt a conquest of the kingdom for himself. But he soon perceived, that the nation was as far as ever from being conquered; his successes were usually checquered with equal losses, and he observed nothing but hostile appearances in the kingdom, except a few miles around the spot where he was encamped. At last, after no less than nine expeditions into Scotland, he found himself obliged finally to abandon the enterprize.

In those times, the castle of Stirling underwent its revolutions with the rest of the kingdom. In 1333, it yielded to the Baliol party, and, according to some accounts, was dismantled by orders from the English king, who had learned, by the experience of his grandfather, how dangerous a weapon it might prove, if it should again come into the possession of the Scots. But, in 1336, it was rebuilt by the orders of that monarch, and planted anew with a strong garrison, the command of which was given to Sir Thomas Rukby. Next year, the Bruce-

an

an party recovering strength, by supplies they had received from France, attempted the reduction of it; they were, at that time, commanded by Sir William Douglas of Liddesdale, and Sir Andrew Murray, and lay two months before it; but it was relieved by Edward in person, who victualled and strengthened the garrison, carrying the sick and wounded with him to England. At this siege, Sir Robert Keith, great marshall of Scotland, whose valour had contributed not a little to the celebrated victory of Bannockburn, was killed. Next year, the siege was renewed, and raised again by the English monarch. But, in 1339, the Scots, under Douglas and Murray, conducted the siege with such indefatigable industry, that the garrison capitulated, though upon honourable terms*. After that time, the English were never able to penetrate so far northward into Scotland.

The last reduction of this fortress by a siege was in 1651. When Cromwell followed king Charles II. into England, before
the

* Fordun. Hemingford.

the battle of Worcester, he left general Monk behind him to complete the conquest of Scotland, which he soon accomplished. Upon his arrival at Stirling, he planted his batteries in the church-yard, and the eminences adjoining to it, and in a short time made himself master of the castle. The impressions made by the bullets of the besiegers are still visible upon the walls of several buildings in the castle, some parts of the statuary work upon the palace having been disfigured by them. The marks of those shot by the besieged also still remain upon the steeple of the church, several of the corner stones of which have been broken by them. By this conquest Monk became master of the principal registers of the kingdom; which, upon the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh the year before, had been carried to Stirling. He sent them to England by Cromwell's orders, to be lodged in the Tower of London, where they remained until the restoration of Charles in 1660, when, by the orders of that monarch, they were packed up in a great number

ber of hogheads, to be carried back to Scotland*; but the ship having been cast away in a storm, near Berwick, they were all irrecoverably lost. This calamity, together with that which befel our more ancient records, by the malicious policy of Edward I. hath involved the Scottish history in great obscurity, and obligeth us to remain in ignorance and uncertainty, with respect to many important national transactions, as well as private occurrences.

In 1746, the Highlanders, headed by the young Pretender, raised batteries upon the Gowan-hill, in order to make an attack upon the castle, in which general Blackney commanded; but, being little used to operations of that kind, they proceeded very slowly; and their guns having been dis-

M m mounted

* Bishop Burnet saith, that they were put up in fifty hogheads; but, by an act of parliament in 1661, it appears that they filled a much greater number. For, when the storm arose, the sailors were obliged to lighten the frigate, called the Eagle, in which they were, by putting eighty five hogheads of them into another ship, which sank soon after,

mounted almost as soon as they were erected, they found themselves forced to relinquish the enterprize.

Heartily wearied with surveying scenes of blood, and the attempts which human creatures have made to destroy one another, we proceed to take notice of sundry transactions of a civil and sacred nature, which have, at different periods, been carried on within the walls of this fortress.

Some of the laws of Alexander II. which are annexed to *Regiam Majestatem*, were enacted at Stirling, particularly that, so friendly to the liberty of the subject, which established trials by jury. William, surnamed the Lion, held a parliament in the castle, concerning the payment of his ransom-money, and it was the place where that monarch died in 1212; sundry parliaments and conventions also met in that place during the short reign of John Baliol. From thence is dated the letter which that Prince, with the consent of the states, wrote to the King of France in 1295, proposing a marriage betwixt his son, and a daughter of that monarch.

It

It was the place of both the birth and coronation of James V. who, at his death, left an infant daughter, afterwards well known by the name of Mary Queen of Scotland, and much celebrated for her beauty, but more so on account of her misfortunes. She too was crowned in the castle in 1543, when she was scarce nine years of age. Upon that occasion, the Earl of Arran, governor of the realm, carried the crown, and the Earl of Lennox the sceptre. A numerous assembly of the states was present, who appointed the castle to be the place of the young Queen's residence, during her minority, and committed the tuition of her person to the Lords Graham, Lindsay, Erskine, and Livingstone, who were constantly to attend her by turns, and take the oversight of her education*.

The only son of King Henry, Lord Darnly, and Queen Mary, afterwards well known by the name of James VI. was born in the castle of Edinburgh, but soon after conveyed to that of Stirling, where, upon the

* Buchan. L. xv.

the 15th of December 1566, he was baptized with much solemnity. Historians have taken notice of the great preparations that were made to render that occasion as splendid as possible. Couriers were dispatched to the courts of England, France, and Savoy, from each of which, ambassadors arrived to countenance the solemnity. Application was also made to a convention of the states for money, who granted twelve thousand pounds Scots, or one thousand pound Sterling, to defray the expences of it. The Earl of Bedford arrived with a great retinue, as ambassador from Queen Elizabeth, and brought, as a present from that Queen, a font of gold, weighing two stone weight. The Count de Briance also arrived from France; but the ambassador from Savoy did not arrive till the solemnity was over. A numerous body of the Scottish nobility and barons was present.

When the day appointed for the baptism was come, the Prince was carried, at five of the clock in the evening, from his chamber into the chapel, by the French ambassador, the passage upon each side being

ing lined by the nobility and gentry. The ambassador was followed by four Lords of the Romish persuasion, who were, the Earl of Athol, bearing the great serge of wax, the Earl of Eglinton carrying the salt, the Lord Semple the cude, and Lord Ross the bason and ewer. At the door of the chapel, the Prince was received by John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrew's, accompanied by the Bishops of Dunkeld, Dumblane, and Ross; next followed the Prior of Whitehorn, and fundry Deans and Arch-deans, with the officers and singers of the chapel in their several habits. The Prince was held up at the font by the Countess of Argyle, in name of, and by commission from the Queen of England. He was baptized by the Archbishop, and named James Charles; which names, with his other titles, were thrice proclaimed by the heralds with sound of trumpet. The whole service was performed after the manner of the church of Rome, excepting, that the ceremony of the spittle was omitted, by express orders from the Queen. Upon that account, neither the Earl of Bedford, nor any of the
Scottish

Scottish nobility, who had espoused the reformation; entered into the chapel, but stood at the door. None but popish Lords could be prevailed upon to give their assistance, by carrying the utensils for the service, which afforded the Earl of Bedford an opportunity of observing to the Queen, that, though twelve Earls were present, none but two were willing to countenance the rites of popery. The Countess of Argyle, on account of her having acted so principal a part in that service, was called before the general assembly of the church, where she appeared, and, professing her sorrow for having so far countenanced the rites of popery, was appointed to do penance in the same chapel, which, it is probable, she performed *.

The King was not present on that occasion. Buchanan assigns a ridiculous reason for his absence: Because the taylor and embroiderers had neglected to provide him in a suit of cloaths, fit for so great a solemnity. Others, with more probability, suggest,

* Spottiswood's history. Melvil's memoirs.

gest, that he had learned that the Earl of Bedford and his retinue had received express orders from Queen Elizabeth not to address him by the title of King. As it was inconsistent with his honour to be denied that title in his own court, and, at the same time, imprudent to quarrel with that Queen, he judged it expedient not to appear at all. It is certain, that a bad understanding subsisted betwixt him and his own Queen, insomuch that few civilities had passed between them for some time. Yea, the last named historian has been so severe upon Queen Mary, as to affirm, that, tho' she had paid no attention to the clothing of her own husband, she had been careful to have the Earl of Bothwell clad in a suit embroidered with her own hand*.

When the sacred service was ended, and the Prince carried back to his chamber, the Queen, with the English and French ambassadors, sat down to an elegant repast in the great hall, or parliament-house. As soon as the first course was over, a second
was

* Buchan. L. xv.

was brought, in a machine mounted upon carriages, accompanied by a band of music; at the same time, a piece of buffoonry, invented by a Frenchman, gave great offence to the English who were present, and bred a general disturbance. A number of men, dressed in the form of those imaginary beings called *satyrs*, with long tails fastened to their bodies, and whips in their hands, entered the hall before the meat. Some Englishmen, considering this as a premeditated insult upon them, were so provoked as to raise a noise; and it was with much difficulty that the Queen could appease the uproar and disorder that took place in the hall*. It conveys the idea of an uncultivated age, when such an instance of buffoonry, as would at present scarce excite laughter at Bartholomew fair, was practised to give entertainment at a court, and had nigh made the feast of the polite Mary to resemble that of the brutal Lapithæ. The English gentlemen would certainly have discovered a more noble spirit, if, instead

* Melvill.

stead of resenting such a piece of meanness, they had treated it with contempt, and as unworthy of their notice, as the Earl of Bedford appears to have done.

The ambassadors, during their stay, were entertained with frequent banqueting, and every kind of amusement. Historians observe, that the Earl of Bedford never attended worship in the chapel, where fundry popish rites were practised, but went along with the Protestant Lords to the town-church*. That Earl, at his departure, was presented, by the Queen, with a chain of diamonds, valued at two thousand crowns: Those in his retinue were also honoured with presents.

After the resignation of Queen Mary in 1567, a respectable body of nobility, barons, and burgessees, met at Stirling upon the 29th of July, and set the crown upon the head of her son, James VI. who was then about thirteen months old. Having convened first in the castle, and adjusted the order of the solemnity, they walked in

N n procession

* Knox.

procession to the town-church, where, after sermon by Mr John Knox, the royal infant was anointed by Adam Bothwell Bishop of Orkney; after which the crown was set upon his head, or rather held over it. The Earls of Morton and Hume gave a promissory oath, in the King's name, that he should profess and maintain the reformed religion, and govern the kingdom according to the laws of it. As they returned to the castle, Athol carried the crown, Morton the sceptre, Glencairn the sword of state, and Marr the young King *.

That Prince resided in the castle during his minority, and received his education under the care of four preceptors, who, besides the celebrated Mr George Buchanan, were, David Erskine commendator of Dryburgh, Adam Erskine commendator of Cambuskenneth, and Mr Peter Young. The tuition of his person was committed to Lady Marr, and her son Alexander Erskine.

The first parliament, after James had assumed the reigns of government into his own

* Spottiswood.

Crawford's memoirs.

own hands, met in the great hall of the castle 1578. A party of the nobility were so highly displeased with the appointment of Stirling as the place of that meeting, in preference to Edinburgh, that they protested against it. The real cause, however, of their disgust, was the inveterate enmity they entertained against the Earl of Morton, the late regent, who still continued with the King, and, as was given out by the enemies of that Earl, much influenced his counsels. The discontented Lords declined, upon that pretext, to attend the parliament, and publicly affirmed, that their sovereign was detained as a captive, which was flatly contradicted by a proclamation from the court. Yet that did not terminate the matter; so great a suspicion and jealousy took place between the dissatisfied Lords, and those that attended the King, that troops were levied on both sides; but, before hostilities commenced, an accommodation was happily brought about, which restored tranquility at that time *.

In

* Spottiswood.

In 1594, the most magnificent piece of pageantry that had ever been seen in Scotland was acted in the castle ; an account of which shall be the subject of the succeeding section.

S E C T. XII.

The Baptism of Prince Henry in 1594.

JAMES VI. espoused Anna, a Princess of Denmark, who, upon the 19th of February 1594, was delivered of her first son in the castle of Stirling. Ambassadors were immediately dispatched to the courts of England, France, Denmark, and the Low countries, Brunswick, and Magdeburgh, with the news of this happy event, and to request that each of these courts would send a representative to the young Prince's baptism, which his father intended to accompany with an uncommon splendor and magnificence ; at the same time, a convention of the nobility and capital boroughs was called,

called, upon pretext of asking their advice concerning the method of conducting the solemnity, but, in reality, to solicit a supply of money to defray the expences of it, as the finances of James were seldom in a state to answer any unusual demand. The convention, being informed of the King's design, readily granted the sum of one hundred thousand pounds of Scotland, or eight thousand three hundred thirty-three pounds, six shillings and eight pence Sterling. So large a sum gave new spirits to James, and encouraged him to begin the preparations. The castle of Stirling, where the Prince was born, was pitched upon as the most proper place for his baptism; but, as the chapel, which had been built by James III. was deemed neither sufficiently large nor elegant for the present service, orders were given to demolish it, and to erect one more commodious and stately in the same spot. Craftsmen were summoned from every part of the kingdom; and, that the work might be executed with the greatest vigour and celerity, large pay was allowed them, and the

the King himself acted as their daily overseer.

The dispatches to foreign courts were so well received, that, without loss of time, ambassadors arrived from each of them, except from France. Upon the 16th day of July landed at Leith Christianus Bernokow and Stenio Bille, ambassadors from the King of Denmark, the Queen's father. Next day arrived Adamus Crusius from the Duke of Brunswick, together with Joachimus Bessewitius from the Duke of Magdeburgh. And, upon the 3d of August, came the Baron of Braderod from the States of Holland, accompanied by Jacobus Falkins treasurer of Zealand. Some time was spent in waiting for the arrival of the English ambassador, who did not reach Stirling till the 28th of August. This delay was occasioned by the Earl of Cumberland, who had been appointed to this service, falling sick, when he was setting out upon his journey, which rendered it necessary to chuse another in his room; and the Earl of Suffex, who was pitched upon, required time to get himself in readiness.

In

In the mean time, the preparations for this magnificent service were going forward; and the ambassadors, who had already arrived, were entertained, at the King's cost, in the most splendid and sumptuous manner. Hunting, and other exercises of the field, or various kinds of amusement in the palace, were the usual pastimes of the day; and the evening was spent in balls, masks, and banqueting. Games of chivalry, such as tournaments, and running at the ring, were also practised in the valley; which, during the time of those exercises, was surrounded with guards, finely apparelled, to prevent the numerous croud of spectators from breaking in upon the ground. A scaffold too was erected upon one side of the valley, for the accommodation of the Queen and her ladies, with the foreign ambassadors, towards which the performers, at their entrance, always made a low obeisance.

Soon after the arrival of the French ambassador, namely, upon the 30th of August, the service of the baptism was performed, with a pageantry which surpassed
any

any thing of the kind that had ever been seen in Scotland. And it is easy to discern, throughout the whole of it, characters of that vanity and pedantry which distinguished James VI. upon other occasions. The new chapel was hung with the richest tapestry, and every embellishment was added, which could tend to heighten the splendor of the occasion. The eastern part of the chapel was inclosed with a rail, within which none was allowed to enter, except the King, and those that assisted at the service.

At the north-east corner of the house, was placed a chair of state for his Majesty; upon the right hand of which, at a small distance, stood another chair, finely ornamented, with the French arms above it, having been designed for the ambassador of that nation, if he had been present. Next was a seat covered with crimson taffety, for the ambassador of England, and over it the arms of that kingdom; upon the desk before him lay a cushion of red velvet, and on each side stood a gentleman usher. Next sat Mr Robert Bowes, the ordinary ambassador

sador from England, upon whose desk lay a cushion and cloth of purple velvet. Next to Mr Bowes, sat the ambassador of Brunswick, with a cloth and cushion of green velvet before him, and over his head the arms of his Prince. At the greatest distance, upon this side, the ambassadors of the Low countries were placed, with a cloth and cushion of blue velvet, and over their heads the arms of their several states.

Upon the left hand were placed the two ambassadors of Denmark, with a cloth of purple velvet upon their desk, and the arms of that kingdom above their heads. Next sat the ambassador of Magdeburgh, with the arms of his prince above him. In the the midst of the partition, a pulpit was erected, which was hung with cloth of gold, and all the pavement, within the partition, was laid with fine tapestry. In a desk under the pulpit, sat Mr David Cunningham, Bishop of Aberdeen, with Mr David Lindsay, minister of Leith, upon one hand, and Mr John Duncan, one of his Majesty's ordinary chaplains, upon the other ; before

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them stood a table covered with yellow velvet.

The passage from the Prince's chamber in the palace, to the door of the chapel, was lined with an hundred Hag-butters, fifty upon each side, all finely apparelled, and most of them young burgessees of Edinburgh. When all the necessary preparations were compleated, the King, attended by the nobility and privy-counsellors, entered the chapel, and sat down in the chair of state. At the same time, the foreign ambassadors repaired to the Prince's chamber, where they found the royal infant laid upon a bed of state, which was richly ornamented, and embroidered with the labours of Hercules. The ascent to the bed, that stood upon a platform, was by three steps, which were covered with tapestry wrought with gold. A large cloth of lawn, also covered both the bed and the steps, and reached a good way over the floor. As soon as the ambassadors and other officers were assembled, the old Countess of Marr approached the bed, and, after making a low obeisance, took up the Prince, and delivered him

him into the hands of the Duke of Lennox, who immediately presented him to the English ambassador, to be borne by him into the chapel. Upon a table in the room stood the utensils for the sacred service, which the master of ceremonies delivered to certain noblemen, to be carried before the Prince; at the same time, the Prince's robe-royal, which was of purple velvet, richly set with pearls, was delivered to the Duke of Lennox, who put it upon the royal infant, the train being held up by the Lords Sinclair and Urquhart. Next, they all removed to an outer chamber, where stood a canopy supported by four poles, and covered with crimson velvet fringed with gold. At length, when every thing was regularly adjusted, at the sound of trumpet, the procession to the chapel set out in the following order. *First*, Lyon King at arms, with his brethren Heralds in their best robes; next the Lords bearing the utensils. Lord Semple carried an ewer full of water, Lord Seton a silver basin, Lord Livingston a towel, and Lord Hume a ducal crown, richly set with diamonds, sapphires, rubies, and emeralds; then

then followed the canopy, borne by four barons, who were Walter Scot, the laird of Buccleugh; the constable of Dundee; Sir Robert Ker of Cesford; and the laird of Traquair. Under the canopy walked the Earl of Suffex, ambassador of England, appointed for that special service, carrying the Prince in his arms, and assisted by Mr Bowes, the ordinary ambassador for that kingdom; along with them was also the Duke of Lennox. Around the canopy were the ambassadors of Denmark, Magdeburgh, Brunswick, and the States. Last of all, followed the Countess of Marr, Mrs Bowes, and the ladies of honour, with the nurse.

Upon their entrance into the chapel, the utensils were received by the master of ceremonies, who placed them upon the table before the pulpit, and the noblemen who bore them retired to their seats. The canopy was set down before the pulpit, where the English ambassador delivered the Prince to the Duke of Lennox, who immediately gave him to the Countess of Marr, and she committed him into the hands of the nurse. Then all the ambassadors retired to their seats;

seats ; without the rail were placed long seats, covered with green, upon which sat the gentlemen of England, Denmark, Germany, Flanders, and Scotland.

As soon as all the company were seated, and silence made, Mr Patrick Galloway, one of his Majesty's ordinary chaplains, mounted the pulpit, and preached upon the 21st chapter of Genesis; ' and the Lord visited Sarah, as he had said, and the Lord did ' unto Sarah as he had spoken,' &c. When sermon was ended, the bishop of Aberdeen stood up in his seat, and discoursed upon the sacrament of baptism ; first in English, and afterwards in Latin, that foreigners as well as natives might understand. Next, the provost and prebends of the chapel sang the twenty first psalm, after which they proceeded to the sacred action. The King, leaving his seat, came near the pulpit, the ambassadors following in order. The barons that bore the canopy, at the same time moved towards the pulpit, and the Duke of Lennox, receiving the prince from the Countess of Marr, delivered him to the English ambassador, who held him in his arms while he was baptized, and called by the
names

names of Frederick Henry. These names were no sooner pronounced, than they were thrice repeated aloud by Lyon king at arms, and as often confirmed by the inferior heralds with sound of trumpet.

When the action was over, the King, ambassadors, and the great officers returned to their seats, only the English ambassador, stepping aside, was waited on by two gentlemen grooms; one of whom upon his knees held a bason, while the other, in the same humble posture, poured water into it. The ambassador washed his hands; and, having wiped them with a towel, which was presented to him with a low obeisance, by another gentleman-groom, went also to his seat.

When all was again composed, the bishop of Aberdeen, mounting the pulpit, delivered a speech in Latin verse, in praise of the young prince. After which he addressed himself in Latin prose to each of the ambassadors, beginning with Lord Suffex. He gave a history of the family of each prince who was there represented by his ambassador, and showed the relation which every

every one of them bore to the royal family of Scotland, and concluded with giving thanks to God for the happy occasion, and prosperous assembly. It now only remained to pronounce the blessing, which was no sooner done, than Lyon king at arms cried aloud, God save Frederick Henry, by the grace of God, Prince of Scotland, which was instantly repeated by the other heralds with the sound of trumpet, at an open window in the chapel.

The chapel-service being ended, the King, Prince, Ambassadors, Noblemen, and Ladies, going out in the same order in which they had entered, repaired to the great hall or parliament house; the guns of the castle in the mean time fired, and were answered by volleys of small arms. When the procession had arrived at the hall, the Duke of Lennox received the prince from the English ambassador, and presented him to the King, who dubbed him a knight, the Earl of Marr touching him with the spur. The King also placed upon the infant's head a ducal crown; and Lyon proclaimed, The
right

right excellent, high and magnanime Frederick Henry, by the grace of God, Knight and Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the isles, and Earl of Carrick, Duke of Rothsay, Prince and great steward of Scotland. These titles were also repeated by the heralds, at a window in the hall.

Then the prince was carried, by the English ambassador, to his own chamber in the palace, where a variety of the most rich and rare propines were presented. At this instant, his Majesty was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood upon the following gentlemen, William Stewart of Houston ; Robert Bruce of Clackmannan ; John Boswel of Balmourow ; James Shaw of Salghy ; John Murray of Ethilstown ; William Menteith of Kerse ; Alexander Frazer of Frazerburgh ; John Lindsay of Dunrod ; George Livingston of Ogilface ; James Forrester of Torwoodhead ; Alexander Balfour of Strathour ; Walter Dundas of Newliston ; John Boswel of Blasemont ; George Elphingston of Blythwood ; William Livingston of Darnchester ; and David Meldrum of

of Newhall*. These names, with their new honours, were proclaimed upon the terrace

* The following motely kind of oath was taken and subscribed by each of these knights.

The oath of knights.

1. I shall fortify and defend the true Christian religion, and Christ's evangel, now presently preached within this realm, to the utmost of my power.

2. I shall be loyal and true to my sovereign Lord, the King's majesty, to all orders of chivalry, and to the noble office of arms.

3. I shall fortify and defend justice at my power, and without favour or feed.

4. I shall never flee from my sovereign Lord, the King's majesty, nor from his highness lieutenant, in time of mellay and battle.

5. I shall defend my native realm from all alieners and strangers.

6. I shall defend the just action and quarrel of all ladies of honour, of all true and friendless widows, of orphans, and of maidens of good fame.

7. I shall do diligence, wheresoever I hear there are any murderers, traitors, and masterful reevers, that oppress the King's lieges and poor people, to bring them to the law.

8. I shall maintain and uphold the noble state of chivalry, with horse, harness, and other knightly abuilzi-

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ments,

terrace of the forepart of the castle, and large quantities of gold and silver were, at the same instant, thrown over among the people.

During these transactions the tables were covered in the great hall, and, at eight o'clock in the evening, their Majesties, with the ambassadors, sat down to a sumptuous banquet. First, Lyon and his brethren entered the hall with sound of trumpet; next followed the noblemen who were officers of the King and Queen's household; the Earl of Marr great master householder; Lord Fleming great master usher; the Earl of Montrose carver; the Earl of Glencairn cup-bearer; and the Earl of Orkney sewer for the King. And of the Queen's household, Lord Seton carver; Lord Hume cup-bearer; and Lord Semple sewer.

Their

ments, and shall help and succour them of the same order at my power, if they have need.

9. I shall enquire and seek to have the knowledge and understanding of all the articles and points contained in the book of chivalry. All these premisses, to observe, keep, and fulfil, I oblige me, with my own hand.

Their Majesties and the ambassadors were placed at one table, with a space between each chair. Upon the King's right hand sat the Earl of Suffex and Mr Bowes, ambassadors from England. Next to them were placed the ambassadors from Brunswick and Magdeburgh. Upon the King's left hand, in a chair of state, sat the Queen, and next to her, first the ambassadors from Denmark, and then those from the states of Holland and Zealand.

Upon the east side of the hall were placed two long tables, at which sat the noblemen, ladies of honour, and counsellors of Scotland, with such noblemen and gentlemen of England, Denmark, Germany, and Flanders, as were present; betwixt every two noblemen and gentlemen at this table was placed a lady.

When the first course, which was very rich and sumptuous, was ended, the company were of a sudden surpris'd with the sight of a Moor drawing a chariot, in the form of a triumphal car, into the hall with the sound of trumpets and hautboys. This machine was so artfully constructed, that it
appeared

appeared to be drawn by the strength of the Moor alone, who was richly attired, and wore about his neck, as traces, massy chains of pure gold. It was designed at first, that the chariot should have been drawn into the hall by a lion; but, lest the unexpected appearance of so fierce a creature might have too much alarmed the ladies, or he might have startled at the sight of the lamps and torches, to which that animal has a natural aversion, it was judged, upon second thought, more proper that this whimsical piece of service should be performed by a Moor.

Upon the chariot was a table richly covered with fruits, and all kinds of confectionary wares. Around the table stood six damsels, three of whom were clothed in argentine sattin, and three in crimson sattin, and all richly embellished with gold and silver. Each of them wore a crown or garland upon their heads, and their hairs, which hang loose, were decked with feathers, pearls, and jewels. In the front stood one who represented Ceres, holding a sickle in one hand, and a bunch of corn in the other,

ther, with this sentence written upon her side, *fundent uberes omnia campi*. Over against Ceres stood *Foecunditia*, holding some bunches of chefbols, which were designed to represent fruitfulness, with this device upon one side, *felix proles divum*, and upon the other *crescant in mille*. Next, on the other side, was placed *Fides*, holding a bason, in which were two hands joined together, with this sentence, *boni allumina conjugii*. Over against *Fides* stood *Concord*, in whose left hand was a golden tafsle, and in her right the horn of plenty, with this device, *pleno beant te numina sinu*. The next place was occupied by *Liberality*, who held in her right hand two crowns, and in her left as many sceptrs, with this device, *me comite, plura dabis quam accipies*. The last was *Perseverance*, having in her hand a staff, and upon her left shoulder an anchor, with this sentence, *nec dubiae res mutabunt nec secundae*. The desert with which the chariot was loaded, was delivered in silence by the damsels, to the Earls, Lords, and Barons, who were employed as sewers.

Upon

Upon the departure of the chariot, another spectacle, equally uncommon at feasts, entered the hall: This was a boat placed upon wheels, and so artfully constructed, as to move by secret springs, insomuch that none of the spectators could discern what moved her. The length of her keel was eighteen feet, and her breadth eight; from the bottom to the highest flag, which was lowered upon her passing through the gate of the hall, was forty feet; her masts were painted red; the tackling and cordage were silk of the same colour, and the pullies were of gold. Her ordnance consisted of thirty-six pieces of brass, elegantly mounted; the sails were of white taffety, and the anchors tipped with silver. In the fore-sail was a compass pointing to the pole, with this device, *Quascunque per undas*. Upon the main-sail were painted the arms of Scotland, in conjunction with those of Denmark, and this sentence, *En, quae divisa beatos efficiunt, collecta tenes*. All the sails, flags, and streamers were embroidered with gold and jewels; the mariners were in number six, all clad in variegated Spanish taffety;

ty; the pilot, who was arrayed in cloth of gold, stood alone at the helm, moving and directing the whole machine; fourteen musicians, apparelled in taffety, were aboard, besided Arion with his harp. Upon the fore-castle stood Neptune, clad in Indian silk embroidered with silver, and holding in his hand a trident, and upon his head a crown, with this device, *Junxi atque reduxi*. Next stood Thetis, with her mace, and this device, *Nunquam abero, et tutum semper te littore sistam*. At the hand of Thetis stood Triton with his sea-shell, and this device, *Velis, votis, ventis*. Around the vessel were three Syrens, who, accommodating their gestures to the music, repeated this verse, *Unus eris nobis cantandus semper in orbe*. The outside of the boat was decked with pearls, corals, shells, and other productions of the sea. At the sound of a trumpet she entered the hall; and, at the blast of Triton's shell, together with the pilot's whistle, she made sail till she came to the table, discharging her ordnance by the way. When she arrived near the table, the sewers received the wares, which were no other than sweet-meats in chrystal glasses, curiously painted with

with gold and azure, and made up by the art of the confectioner in the shapes of almost all sorts of fishes. While the vessel was unloading, Arion, sitting upon the galley-noose, which was in the form of a dolphin, played upon his harp; then followed the hautboys, violins, and flutes; and, last of all, a general concert. In the end, the banquet being finished, thanks was given, and the cxxviii. psalm sung in seven parts by fourteen voices: Then, at the sound of Triton's shell, and the pilot's whistle, the boat weighed anchor and made sail, till she was without the hall; and so ended the pageantry of this magnificent ceremony, which discovered much more of a capricious vanity than of an elegant taste in the projector of it. The hulk of the vessel, pretty intire, and standing upon four wheels, is still to be seen in the chapel*.

S E C T.

* This account is extracted from a pamphlet, entitled, *True Account of the Baptism of Prince Henry*, which agrees with Sir James Melvill and Archbishop Spottiswood, as far as they take notice of the circumstances of that baptism. Melvill, who was present upon that occasion, makes mention of fundry valuable presents made to the Queen by the foreign ambassadors, when they were admitted to an audience after the baptism: That from
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S E C T. XIII.

The Town of Stirling.

STIRLING, the chief town of the shire, is situated in 56 degrees, 12 minutes northern latitude, and 3 degrees, 50 minutes western longitude from London. It bears a near resemblance to the city of Edinburgh in situation, being built upon a hill, which, gradually rising from the east, terminates in a steep, and almost perpendicular rock. Upon the extremity of that rock the castle stands. This high situation, in the midst of a spacious and fertile plain, contributes not only to the pleasure of the inhabitants, as it furnishes them with one of the most extensive and variegated prospects that is to be met with in Scotland, but also to their health, as it affords them the advantage of breath-

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the Queen of England was a cup-board overlaid with silver, and some cups of massy gold. The present from the ambassadors of the States was a golden box, upon which was written in letters of gold, *A gift of a pension to the Prince of five thousand* a year, with two cups of massy gold, so weighty, says our author, who was employed by the Queen to receive them, that he was scarcely able to lift them and set them down upon the table.

ing a pure and salutary air. King William, surnamed the Lion, desired, in his last sickness, to be carried to Stirling, in expectation of reaping some benefit to his health from the salubrity of its air *.

The castle, no doubt, gave the first rise to the town, as it encouraged the neighbouring people to settle under the protection of it; and, when that fortress became one of the royal residences, many of the nobility and officers of state built houses in the town for the conveniency of attending the court; this again naturally drew merchants and tradesmen to the place for gain. By these means it gradually increased, till it covered the greatest part of the hill, and became a place of general resort. Its situation too, upon a solid rock, gave occasion to a saying of James VI. That there was a town in Scotland whose streets were all of one stone.

This town, on account of its vicinity to the Forth, as well as the castle, hath always been deemed a place of importance, and a sort of key to the kingdom. From the remotest

* Fordun.

most ages, the common and easiest communication between the northern and southern parts of the island hath been by the fords or bridges in its neighbourhood; hence the possession of it hath ever been reckoned of the greatest consequence to those who sought to be masters of Scotland.

Besides the natural rampart formed by the Forth, which surrounds the town at a small distance upon all sides, except the south, artificial fortifications have been drawn around it. Upon the west it is defended by the castle; upon the north, the vestiges of a great ditch are still discernible; and, upon the south, a strong wall runs along the brink of a steep rock; in ancient times too, the east side was inclosed with a wall, which passed a little eastward of the present meal-market.

The town was erected into a royal borough by King David I. about the year 1150, and is ranked the fifth borough in Scotland in point of antiquity. Its arms are, upon one part, a bridge, with a cross upon the summit of it, and the following motto around it: *Armis hic stant Bruti,*
Sco

Scoti stant hic cruce tuti; in another part, a Gothic castle, with two branches of a tree, to represent the castle and forest of Stirling, as appears by the following line around it: *Hoc continet in se castrum et nemus Strivelenſe*. The figure of a wolf, an inhabitant of the antient Scottish forreſts, makes alſo a part of the arms. The tranſaction to which the motto of the bridge refers, hath been mentioned in a former ſection, and derives ſome degree of authenticity from thence. For, though the origin of arms and mottos hath often ariſen from very frivolous events, yet no other ſuppoſition hath been offered, which accounts for theſe armorial enſigns, and the otherwiſe unmeaning terms of the motto.

Stirling was one of the towns which conſtituted the *curia quatuor burgorum*, or court of four boroughs. That court, which was the origin of the preſent convention of boroughs, was a ſort of commercial parliament, inveſted with full powers to determine in every queſtion relating to the intereſt of all the boroughs. At a meeting of the *curia quatuor burgorum* in this town, October 12th

1405,

1405, fundry laws were enacted concerning the internal order of boroughs, and the qualification of burgesſes. In thoſe ages, the appeal from the ſentences of borough-courts was to the chamberlain at Haddington, who was impowered to ſummon an aſſize, which was to conſiſt of three or four reſpectable burgesſes, from each of the towns of Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, and Roxburgh; or, when the two laſt were in the hands of the Engliſh, Linlithgow and Lanark. The verdict of that aſſize was final *.

In the council-house is kept the pint jug, which is appointed by law to be the ſtandard for dry meaſures in Scotland. It is made of a ſort of yetlin, and appears to be very old. It is mentioned in acts of parliament, as having been in that town before the reign of James II. By act of parliament, February 19th 1618, intituled, ‘Act annent ſettling the weights and meaſures of Scotland,’ it is ſtated and ordained, that the wheat firloot ſhall contain twenty-one pints and a mutch-kin

* Curia quatuor burgorum, annexed to Regiam Ma-
jeſtatem.

kin of the Stirling jug ; and that the firlo^t for bear, malt, and oats, shall contain thirty-one pints of the same.

The church of the Dominicans or Black Friars, which stood without the walls of the town upon the east, was the chief place of worship for the inhabitants, till James V. in 1494, founded a convent of Franciscans or Gray Friars in the higher parts, and built the present church for the accommodation of that fraternity. This church is a magnificent Gothick fabric, all of hewn stone, with an arched roof supported with two rows of stately pillars. It was originally one church ; but, since the reformation, it hath been divided by a partition-wall, and at present makes two large and convenient places of worship, called the east and west churches. A small addition is said to have been made to the fabric at the east end, by Cardinal Beaton. It is taken notice of in history, as the place where, in 1543, the Earl of Arran, governor during the minority of Queen Mary, publicly renounced the reformed religion, which he had once professed to favour. It was also

to the place where James VI. was crowned in 1567. The steeple and roof wear many marks of bullets shot by the garrison of the castle, to defend themselves against General Monk, who raised his batteries in the church-yard in 1651, and also to annoy the rebels in 1746, who used to fire small arms from the steeple, and rang the bells to testify their joy for the victory they had gained over the King's troops at Falkirk.

Upon the north side of the church stands a ruinous building of good workmanship, called Marr's work, having been erected by John Earl of Marr, who was a short time regent in the minority of James VI. The stones, with which it is built, were brought from the abbacy of Cambuskenneth, the revenues of which were at that time held *in commendam* by that Earl's near relations. Sundry frivolous inscriptions are still legible upon the lintles of the doors and windows. Many of the stones have lately been carried off to build a new church-yard at St. Ninians; and what still remains of the fabric, is preserved to protect the main street, or market-

market-place, from the fury of the western winds. Near to it stands another building, which anciently belonged to the family of Argyle. And, upon the right hand of the road leading to the castle, stands a spacious edifice, which once belonged to a noble family of the name of Alexander, which took the title of Earl from this town; it was afterwards in possession of the family of Argyle, by whom it was lately sold. Several other houses are pointed out, as having been the dwellings of the nobility and barons, when the court resided in the castle.

In the reign of James VI. the town was enlarged towards the east. Formerly, the eastern wall passed a little below the present meal-market, and the south port stood a hundred yards more to the westward than it does at present. That port was erected about 1591. When it was taken down a few years ago, in order to render the entry to the town more commodious, a silver piece, of the size of a crown, which is preserved in the council-chamber, was found in the foundation, where it had been placed

ced as a medal. It is of date 1587, and hath upon it, *Margaretta Princess de Magdeburgh*. That Princess was grandmother to Queen Anne, spouse to James VI.

Near the south-port is a very copious and pure spring, called *St Ninian's well*, on account of its having been dedicated to that saint, whose memory, in the ages of superstition, was held in universal esteem. The remains of a chapel are also to be seen, which, having been repaired, are much used by the inhabitants as a washing-house. This well, from which the extensive and populous parish of St Ninian's takes its name, furnished the inhabitants of Stirling with the greatest part of their water, till 1774, when, to the great benefit of the place, water was brought in pipes from Gilles-hill, about a mile distant, which now supplies every quarter of the town.

In the town are three hospitals; the oldest of which is called *Spittel's*, from Robert Spittel taylor to James V. who founded and endowed it for the relief of decayed tradesmen. The house stands at the foot of the flesh-market, and the funds which support the institution, are the rents of lands be-

longing to it, which, at present, amount to three hundred pound Sterling yearly. The same Robert Spittel built the bridge over the river Bannockburn, at the village of that name, together with fundry other bridges in the country around Stirling; yet no grateful monument hath been erected to the memory of this generous benefactor of mankind! Nothing remains to perpetuate the memory of his beneficence, except the ensigns armorial of his trade; that is, the scissars and thimble, together with his name, scarce legible, upon the hospital and bridges. It cannot but appear strange to a benevolent mind, that men have oftener obtained a name by being the cause of great calamities to their fellow-creatures, than by being the instruments of conveying comfort and happiness to them. Had Robert Spittel slain in battle the fifth part of those, whom his beneficence was calculated to relieve, his name and actions would have filled a page in history; but the operations of public charity being slow and imperceptible, do not attract general attention so strongly as the sudden sallies of martial ferocity.

Cowan's

Cowan's hospital stands in the highest part of the town ; it was founded and endowed by a large mortification left by John Cowan, a substantial merchant in that town, for the support of decayed Guild-brethren. The house, which is a handsome fabric, though not large, was built in 1639. In the front stands a statue of the founder cut in stone. Closely adjoining to the house are flower-gardens and a bowling-green, where the inhabitants of the town amuse themselves with that diversion in summer evenings. The funds of this institution being laid out upon lands, are, at present, in a very flourishing condition, and afford a competent support to a great number of people, who have a title to it. The yearly revenues amount to eleven hundred pound Sterling ; and, amongst other lands belonging to it, are the old Abbacy of Cambuskenneth, with a large tract of very fertile ground around it. Neither the houses which belong to this institution, nor to that of Spittel, are occupied by those who are supported by their revenues. As these fabrics could contain but a few of those who are dependent

dependent upon the funds annexed to them, they are permitted to have their dwellings throughout the town, and in the near neighbourhood.

The third hospital is called *Allan's*, from John Allan, writer in Stirling, who, at his death, about 1725, left a mortification for the endowment of an hospital, for the maintenance and education of the children of decayed tradesmen. The funds of this institution being also in land, yield four hundred pound Sterling yearly.

These institutions were doubtless well designed; and the benevolent intentions of the founders can never be too much extolled; yet, as the best of institutions are liable to abuse, speculative reasoners have questioned, whether, upon the whole, these charitable foundations have not done hurt to industry, and opened a door to idleness, as many of those, who are intitled to the benefit of them, may be tempted to slacken their diligence, having a resource, so certain and comfortable, to depend upon, in case of failure.

The

The two principal entries to the town are the borough-port upon the south, and the bridge upon the north. No certain information can be obtained concerning the first erection of the bridge, which consists of four stately arches, with a gate at the north end. During the rebellion in 1745, the southermost arch was broken down by the orders of General Blackney, to prevent the Highlanders from passing that way. Before the erection of the present bridge, the passage over the river was by one that stood half a mile more to the westward, the foundations of which are still to be seen at a place called *Kildean*. That appears to have been the bridge mentioned in *Regiam Majestatem*, as the place where the inhabitants of the south-side of the Forth, who were challenged, as having in their possession stolen goods, belonging to those upon the north, were appointed to produce their warrants within six weeks after the challenge. The late erection of a bridge at the Drip, hath rendered the communication between the west country and the town much more

more easy and commodious than it was before.

In the town-house are kept two silver keys, one of them belonging to the borough-port, the other to the gate upon the bridge. These the magistrates have been in use to present to the King, or any of the royal-family, when they happened to pass that way. They were last presented to William Duke of Cumberland, son of George II. when he marched through that town in pursuit of the rebels, in 1746.

Opposite to Stirling, upon the north bank of the river, stands a high rock, called *Abbey Craig*, from its vicinity to the old abbacy of Cambuskenneth. Upon the top of this rock are extensive ruins, called the *Castle-hill*, which are conjectured to be the ruins of a fortification erected by the Scots, as a frontier, either when the Picts or Northumbrians were in possession of the castle. Upon the same rock was lately dug up a small stone, with the Scottish thistle upon one side, and, upon the other, fundry elegant Saxon characters, the meaning of which we do not understand. It is not improbable

probable that the stone had been designed as a boundary, in the erection of which, the Scots and Saxons had been jointly concerned.

In the neighbourhood of this town is a chain of steep rocks, four in number, and bearing a resemblance to each other, by gradually rising from the east, and terminating in an almost perpendicular precipice upon the west. Each of these rocks has been the stage of military transactions. The Abbey Craig, which is the northermost, is memorable for the defeat of the English army near it by William Wallace. The next, upon which the castle and town of Stirling stands, has been the scene of innumerable rencounters. The third, called *Gilles-hill*, is the western termination of the famous field of Bannockburn. And, at the east end of the fourth, which is called *Sauchie-hill*, lies the field where James III. and his disaffected subjects, headed by his own son, engaged. These rocks strike the eye of travellers approaching the town from the west, though they are not discernible by those that come from the east.

The

The river of Forth is navigable by small craft as far as the town, and a little trade is carried on upon it, though the numerous windings render the navigation both tedious and cumbersome. Vessels of seventy tons proceed, in stream-tides, as far as the shore of Stirling; but fundry fords or shoals in the river, prove obstacles to those of a heavier burden. It hath been observed, that a vessel sailing between Stirling and Alloa, requires a wind so frequently shifting, as, during the voyage, to blow from all points of the compass. Should the project, lately in agitation, of a navigable canal alongst the banks of Forth be revived, and meet with success, it will not only advance the trade of Stirling, but tend greatly to the improvement of an extensive and fine country upon the west of that town.

The neighbourhood being plentifully stored with coal-mines, has given occasion to apply to the town of Stirling the following lines which Johnstone the poet wrote upon Newcastle.

Rupe

Rupe sedens celsâ, rerum aut miracula spectat
 Naturae, aut folers distrahit illa aliis;
 Sedibus Ætheriis quid frustra quaeritis ignem?
 Hunc alit, hunc terra suscitât ista sinu:
 Non illum torvo terras qui turbine terret,
 Sed qui animam terris, detque animos animis.
 Eliquat hic ferrum, aes, hic aurum ductile fundit.

This town must necessarily be supposed to have undergone the same revolutions with the castle. We have no cause to lament, that the memory of many bloody rencounters which happened in its neighbourhood, in remote ages, is lost. The accounts that have come down to us are sufficiently full, in describing the carnage of fields of slaughter, and the barbarous attempts which mankind have made to destroy one another. The castle and court, which drew inhabitants to the place for protection and gain, often proved occasions of its being exposed to rapine and hostile invasions. Many contests, state trials, executions, plots, riots, and murders have happened in it, which are too inconsiderable to be mentioned in a general survey. We shall only take notice of a few of the prin-

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cipal

cipal transactions, of which it hath been the stage.

This town hath, at different times, suffered by fire. In March 1244, it was burned to the ground by accidental fire. The old Scottish towns being generally built with wood, rendered them liable to frequent calamities of that kind. But it was a most singular occurrence, that that same night in which Stirling was burned, Haddington, Roxburgh, Lanark, Perth, Forfar, Montrose, and Aberdeen, all underwent the same fate*. The wind had probably been very high, as ordinarily happens at that season of the year.

It hath already been observed, that this town was burned by Wallace, in his retreat from the battle of Falkirk in 1298; who, at the same time, laid the country waste, in order to distress the English for want of provisions, if they should pursue him.

In 1452, James II. having invited William Earl of Douglas into the castle, stabbed him to death with his own hand, in direct violation of a writ of safety, which he

* Fordun.

he had granted him. This was the occasion of a civil war, which caused much devastation and bloodshed. James Earl of Douglas, brother and successor to him who was slain, assembled his friends and vassals with a design to invest the castle; but, finding themselves too weak for that enterprise, they departed, proclaiming the King a perfidious traitor, and dragging his safe conduct through the town at an horse's tail. In a short time, however, they returned with an additional strength, and repeated the contemptuous treatment of the King and his safe conduct; but, still finding themselves not in a capacity to attack the castle, where James kept himself upon the defensive, they plundered the town, and, setting fire to it, laid a great part of it in ashes.

Stirling was the stage of many considerable transactions, during the commotions which subsisted in Scotland at the time of the reformation. Mary of Lorrain, the regent, frequently held her court and parliaments in the castle, as did also her daughter Queen Mary.

In

In 1559, the lords of the congregation, as those who espoused the cause of the reformation were called, being assembled at Perth, understood that the Queen regent intended to plant a strong garrison of French soldiers in Stirling, in order to stop their passage over the Forth; but they prevented her design, by taking possession of that town for themselves. At that time, the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, with the convents of Black and Gray Friars, was demolished by the fallies of an irregular zeal. In the month of August, that same year, the reformers entered into their third bond of mutual defence, in this town *.

During the minority of James VI. the nation was divided into two powerful parties, one of which adhered to Queen Mary, the other to her son. Both of them were perpetually employed in forming combinations, or committing hostilities against one another. In September 1571, the Duke of Lennox, at that time regent, and who, with his partizans, adhered to the interest of the young King, held a parliament in the castle of Stirling, which, by the opposite party, was

* Knox.

was distinguished, out of contempt, by the name of the *black parliament*. The friends of Mary formed a design to surprise them. In order to put this design in execution, the Earl of Huntly, Lord Claud Hamilton, the laird of Buccleugh, Sir David Spence of Wormiston, with fundry others of rank, set out from Edinburgh, late of an evening, at the head of three hundred horse, and eighty foot; and reaching Stirling by four o'clock next morning, easily found access into the town, having one Bell, a native thereof, for their guide. They immediately surrounded the lodgings of the chief nobility, and, without meeting with any resistance, except from the Earl of Morton, who did not surrender, till the house was set on fire about him, they made prisoners of the regent, and ten other noblemen, with whom they instantly set out in triumph, upon their return to Edinburgh. But the enterprize, which had hitherto succeeded so well, was suddenly defeated by the neglect of discipline amongst their own followers; for the borderers, who accompanied Buccleugh, instead of being ready to march with the prisoners,

prisoners, were scattered throughout the town in quest of plunder. Before they could be collected, intelligence was carried to the Earl of Marr, in the castle, who immediately marched out with a company of musketeers, and, entering the back-way, through his own new lodgings, which were then a-building, fired so smartly upon the invaders, as drove them, with the utmost precipitation, from the market-place, to the lower parts of the town. His soldiers, too, being joined by the townsmen, seized many of the plunderers, and so hotly pursued the main body, that they were obliged to drop their prisoners, who were all found safe, except the regent, whom one Calder, upon seeing the enterprise defeated, had barbarously stabbed in the belly with a broad sword. Sir David Spence, to whom he had surrendered, endeavoured to save him, but in vain; and was himself hewn in pieces by the pursuers, whose rage would not suffer them to listen to the earnest entreaties made by the wounded regent to spare him.

In

In this expedition, six of the assailants were killed, and twenty-six taken prisoners, of whom Buccleugh, Calder, and Bell were the most considerable; the other party lost twenty-four, amongst whom, besides the Regent, Alexander Stewart of Garlies, and George Ruthven, were the only persons of note. The regent was carried to the castle, where he died of his wounds that same evening, and was interred in the chapel-royal. Calder and Bell were, in two days after, executed in the market-place, or Broad-street*. The regent received the mortal wound where the village of Newhouse now stands, about a quarter of a mile from the Burrow-port. A small heap of stones and rubbish were raised upon the spot, which remained till 1758, when it was removed, in order to level the ground for the turnpike-road.

The court of session sat some time at Stirling, during the regency of the Duke of Lennox, as did also the general assembly of the church, in August 1571 †, and in June 1578 ‡.

The

* Spotiswood. Crawford's memoirs. † Spotiswood.

‡ Calderwood.

The Earls of Angus and Marr, the Master of Glamis, and others, who had been concerned in the expedition, called *The Raid of Ruthven*, which was the forcible detention of the King at Ruthven house, took possession of the town and castle of Stirling in 1584, but were soon obliged to abandon it, and fly to England, where they remained under a sentence of forfeiture till next year, when, returning with an additional force, they again made themselves masters of the town, without meeting with any considerable opposition. The King was at that time in the castle; but, as it was in no state of defence, and these Lords were preparing to invest it, he sent commissioners to treat with them, to whom they very readily listened, and immediately obtaining access to his Majesty, threw themselves at his feet, and begged pardon, which was readily granted. The sentence of forfeiture was also removed, their estates restored, and themselves so far taken into favour, that sundry of them were soon raised to offices of public trust, and ever after shared much of the royal confidence.

dence *. This expedition was called the *Raid of Stirling*.

This town was also the stage of fundry public transactions, during the commotions that took place in Scotland, in the reign of Charles I. Upon the ferment, which arose at Edinburgh, at the introduction of the new liturgy in 1637, the privy council, and court of session, were, by the royal mandate, removed to Stirling, where they continued for several months. At the same time, proclamation was made, that none should repair to that town, without a warrant from the **Lords** of privy council. When this proclamation, together with that which appointed the use of the liturgy, was read at the market-cross of Stirling, a protest was publicly entered against it by the Earl of Hume, Lord Lindsay, and a great number of **Barons**, ministers, and burgeses, bearing, that it should not preclude them from having recourse to their sovereign, to present their grievances; and that none of them should suffer loss of life or lands, for disobedience

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* Spottiswood.

bedience to acts or canons, introduced without the authority of parliament, or general assembly. So far, too, was the proclamation from being obeyed, that the town was, that same evening, taken possession of by two thousand armed men, who all set out next day for Edinburgh, in order to consult about further proceedings in opposition to the measures of the court. The consequences of this are well known.

In 1645, a pestilence, which had come from England, by the way of Kelso and Edinburgh, broke out in the town of Stirling, where it raged with great violence, from the middle of July, to the month of October. Upon its arrival at Edinburgh, the parliament removed to Stirling; but that dreadful enemy pursuing them thither, they were obliged to adjourn to Perth *. At that time, the town-council of Stirling held their meetings in the open fields, in an inclosure called the *Cow-park*, upon the south side of the wall. Great care, however, was taken of those who were infected.

Tents

* Guthry's memoirs.

Tents were erected for them upon the lands of Chirmilands, at the north end of the bridge, and every method was used that could tend to administer comfort or relief, to persons in so dismal a situation. Cleaners were appointed for the different quarters of the town, for whose payment, a small tax was laid upon the inhabitants; and a spot of ground, near St Ninian's well, was allotted for burying those that died *. Many of their bones have been lately dug up in that place. Six members of the council, whose humanity had rendered them particularly active upon that mournful occasion, died of the infection. Their grave-stones are still to be seen in the churchyard, upon the north side of the church.

In 1648, after the defeat of the Scottish expedition into England in behalf of Charles I. commonly called Duke Hamilton's engagement, a new commotion was raised in Scotland, by those who had disapproved of that expedition, and who now seemed to enjoy a malevolent pleasure from
the

* Town register of Stirling.

the defeat of it. The principal authors of that commotion were, the Marquis of Argyle, the Earls of Cassilis and Eglinton, together with the Earl of Loudon, chancellor, at whose instigation a body of men, far from being inconsiderable, rose in arms. To oppose them, the committee of estates found themselves under the necessity of assembling an army, the command of which was conferred upon the Earl of Lanark, who was soon joined by George Monro, an officer of experience, with a small body of troops which he had conducted home from the late disaster in England. At that time, the shire we are surveying became a-new the stage of military marches and rencounters. Argyle, having collected a small body of Highlanders, marched eastward, in order to form a junction with Loudon and Eglinton. He halted at the town of Stirling to refresh his men ; and, after having posted above one hundred of them to guard the bridge, and the rest at the borough-port and borough-miln, he went to dine with the Earl of Marr in the castle, entertaining no dread of a sudden attack from the enemy, whom

whom he apprehended to be at a considerable distance ; but, before dinner was ended, he received intelligence of the approach of Monro, who, with a party of horse, had made a rapid march, with an intention to surprise him ; whereupon the Marquis, who was not renowned for military prowess, judged it expedient to consult his own safety by a precipitant flight, leaving his men to their hazard. Monro had taken a compass by the west side of the town, with a view to intercept the retreat of his antagonist ; but he had crossed the bridge a few hours before his arrival. His men, who were posted there, were thrown into so great consternation by the unexpected appearance of the enemy, and the flight of their own leader, that they could make no effort to defend themselves ; and even not having so much presence of mind as to ask for quarter, they were all cut to pieces by Monro's troopers, except a few, who, attempting to swim the river, were drowned. Those stationed at the borough-port and miln were saved from a like destruction by surrendering themselves prisoners to the Earl

Earl of Lanark, who had arrived at the town before the return of Monro from the slaughter at the bridge. During these transactions at Stirling, the army, led by the Chancellor and Eglinton, took up their station at Falkirk, which Lanark had lately left. Monro proposed to march back next day in order to attack them, promising an easy victory; but the proposal was rejected by Lanark, who, instead of inclining to further hostilities, expressed a regret for the blood which had already been shed. An accommodation was immediately set on foot; and commissioners from both parties having met at Woodside, upon the borders of Torwood, brought the matter to an amicable issue; upon which both armies were disbanded*.

After the defeat of the Scottish army at Dunbar by Cromwell in 1650, the committees of church and state, the chief magistrates of Edinburgh, and the remains of the army retired to Stirling, in order to concert the plan of their future operations.

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* Guthry's memoirs.

A parliament was also called, which sat down at that town, but afterwards adjourned to Perth. This was the last parliament in Scotland in which the Sovereign was present in person. After much dispute, concerning the qualifications of the persons who were to be admitted into the service, it was determined to raise a new army, in order to make another effort in behalf of Charles II. who had lately been crowned at Scoon. Accordingly, a considerable body of troops was collected, and Charles put himself at their head, having nominated Duke Hamilton his lieutenant-general, David Leslie major-general, Middleton major-general of horse, and Maffey general of such English forces as adhered to the royal cause. The place of rendezvous for the new levies was Aberdeen, from whence they marched to Stirling, and encamped at Torwood, four miles south of that town. At that time, the eastern parts of the shire became once more the stage of military marches and rencounters, which, however, terminated without much bloodshed. The ground where Charles was encamped, was
naturally

naturally strong and prudently chosen, having the river Carron in front, the Forth in the rear, and the whole country upon the north side of the Forth open, from whence he could be plentifully supplied with provisions. Cromwell, whose army lay at Linlithgow, and his advanced guards had taken post at the house of Almond, found it difficult to make any attempt upon the royal camp in this situation, which, besides its natural strength, was improved by regular fortifications; but he tried every method to draw the King out of it, and provoke him to fight.

He marched and counter-marched several times in full view of the camp, and one day, stood eight hours in battle array at Caermuir, little more than a mile from it. He likewise stormed, in their sight, Callender-house, in which Charles had planted a garrison. But, finding all his stratagems ineffectual, he drew off to Glasgow, in order to refresh his men. Returning from thence in a few days, he presented himself anew, and made such vigorous preparations to attack the camp, as put Charles and his
army

army into so great consternation, that they suddenly decamped from Torwood, and marched into the park adjoining to the castle of Stirling. Cromwell followed, and, as he passed over the ground where the royalists had lain, he found all the sick men, and a large quantity of military stores, left behind, which discovered the hurry and confusion in which they had departed. Finding it, however, difficult to make an attack upon them in their new situation, with any probability of success, he marched back to Linlithgow, and sent General Monk over the Frith, with a strong detachment, to cut off the King's supplies, and carry on the war in those parts. In the mean time, Charles marched with his army to England, and, being closely followed by Cromwell, the battle of Worcester, so fatal to the royal cause, ensued*.

Soon after the departure of Charles, Monk took possession of Stirling, and in a few days reduced the castle. Many of his officers are mentioned in the town re-

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gister,

* Life of Cromwell, and common historians.

gister, as having been admitted to the freedom of the town.

In 1715, the Duke of Argyle, commander of the royal forces, encamped with his army in the King's-park, below the castle, and from thence marched to the battle of Sheriff-muir, which was fought four miles northward of Stirling.

Sundry reparations were made upon the walls of the town in 1745; but, upon the approach of the rebels, after their return from England, in the beginning of next year, the inhabitants not finding themselves in a condition of defence, saw it proper to allow them admittance into the town, after having sent all the arms found in it to the castle, and obtained some terms for their own safety; which were, that no man's person should be harmed by the Highlanders, and that every thing should be paid that they called for. But, it is said, that they had not been two hours in town till they broke these articles of capitulation, by pillaging the houses and shops of those that were most noted for their opposition to the pretender.

The

The parish of Stirling, besides the town and borough-acres, contains only a small tract of ground along the south bank of the Forth, with the peninsula upon the north of that river, upon which the ruins of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth, together with a village, mostly built with the stones thereof, stand. The garrison, and constabulary of the castle, is no part of that parish, but have a chaplain of their own; though, like those of many other royal garrisons, he is generally non-resident.

Soon after the reformation, Mr Robert Montgomery was minister of Stirling; but, by the influence of the Duke of Lennox, he was presented by James VI. to the Bishoprick of Glasgow. It appeared afterward, that, by a previous bargain, he had engaged, upon his being invested in the Bishoprick, to dispoise to that Duke all the revenues thereof, except a thousand pound Scots for his own maintenance, together with a small quantity of oats. The presbytery of Stirling, displeased with his acceptance of the Bishoprick, called him before them, and, upon his refusing to appear, they

they suspended him from the office of the ministry, which sentence was affirmed by the general assembly. Though he pretended to acquiesce in that sentence, yet he immediately took possession of the see of Glasgow, in which he was countenanced and protected by the King; but, upon the disgrace of his friend, the Duke of Lennox, he surrendered the Bishoprick, and afterwards became minister of Symington in Kyle, where he was reduced to great poverty *.

The minister of Stirling was, *ex officio*, one of the twelve prebends of the cathedral of St Giles, each of whom had eighty pound Scots out of the revenues of the Bishoprick of Edinburgh, as the emoluments of that office.

Mr Henry Guthrie, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld, who wrote memoirs of Scottish affairs, from 1637, to the death of Charles I. was once minister of this town, as was also another Mr Henry Guthrie, who was executed in the beginning of the reign

* Presbytery records of Stirling. Keith's history of Scottish Bishops.

reign of Charles II. on account of his activity in opposition to the measures of the court, in former times.

The town had, for some time, three ministers of the establishment; but, since the deposition of Mr Ebenezer Erskine, one of the leaders of the secession, it hath had no more than two, only one of whom hath a manse and glebe. The manse was built in the last century, by a mortification left by Colonel Edmond, a native of the town, who, from small beginnings, arose to a distinguished eminence.

Stirling, like most of the old Scottish towns, is irregularly built, having been originally begun upon no settled plan. It hath one spacious street, where the market is held; but the entry to it is through long and narrow lanes. However, on account of the declivity of the hill, upon which the town stands, the streets are generally clean. Alongst the outside of the southern wall, a beautiful path, called the *back-walk*, the contrivance of Mr Edmondson of Cambuswallace, about forty years ago, is formed alongst the summit of the rock. Here the
inhabi-

inhabitants have the opportunity of taking the fresh air, in the midst of scenes truly romantic. A steep and irregular rock lies below; the town-wall stands above, and the walk is overshadowed by a grove of trees, whose leaves are so thick in summer, as not only to intercept the scorching beams of the sun, but also, in a good measure, the falling showers. But this, together with the other numerous beauties of the place, is much tarnished by a great nuisance, to be met with in several other towns, that is, the shambles in the very midst of it; in consequence of which, the blood and gore of the slaughtered animals is often to be seen running, in a large stream, throughout the whole length of the town. Such a spectacle, though familiar to the inhabitants, is exceedingly disgusting to strangers. This nuisance might be removed, by shifting the shambles to some back part of the town, which might be done without much expence, or apparent detriment to any individual.

This town, which contains between three and four thousand inhabitants, is inferior to few boroughs in Scotland for pleasantness of
of

of situation, plenty of fuel, store of provisions from a fertile country around it, endowments of hospitals, borough-revenues, which amount to twelve hundred pound Sterling yearly, and appointment of schools for different branches of education, besides other conveniencies. It hath a much frequented weekly market upon Friday, and five annual fairs, at which considerable business is transacted. A good deal of wool is manufactured in it, particularly carpets and shalloons, both of the best quality. The weavers and dyers are reckoned eminently skilled in their professions. But one branch of woollen manufacture, which, till within these last twenty years, was carried on to a great extent in this town and neighbourhood, namely, that of making tartans, hath of late greatly decayed, which hath obliged several hundreds of tradesmen, who wrought in that branch, to betake themselves to other employments.

Stirling is one of the towns where the justiciary-court, for the western circuit, is held twice a year.

SECT.

S E C T. XIV.

Memoirs of Statesmen, Soldiers, Scholars, and Divines, who have had their Birth, Residence, or Property in the Shire, before 1700.

S T A T E S M E N.

SIR ALEXANDER LIVINGSTONE of Callender, had obtained so much of the public esteem, in the reign of James I. that, upon the death of that monarch, in 1438, he was, by a vote of the states, elected governor of the realm, during the minority of James II. who was only seven years of age at his father's death. At the same time, Sir William Crichton was not only continued in the office of chancellor, which he had held under the former reign, but was also intrusted with the person and education

education of the young King *. The history of this minority contains little more than the disturbances occasioned by the cabals of those two, who became inveterate rivals to each other; and, instead of employing the power, with which they were intrusted, in insuring the public tranquillity, and checking the exorbitancies of faction, the usual attendants of minorities, fell into such animosities between themselves, as divided the nation, and impeded the administration of justice.

Livingstone was possessed of talents, but enterprising and ambitious: He was none of those few statesmen who prefer the public good to their own interest, and who never sacrifice the common weal to their own private passions. The fraudulent method

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* This is the common account given by historians; but documents have been quoted to prove, that Livingstone was no more than the governor of the King's person. This, in some measure, vindicates the method he made use of to obtain possession of his pupil, whom Crichton detained contrary to law. See Abercrombie's martial achievements of the Scottish nation, in the life of James II. and Crawford's peerage, in Earl of Linlithgow and Callender.

he used to get into his power the person of the young King, was an indication of his inclination to possess the sole authority. The part he acted in the murder of the Earl of Douglas and his friends, whom, in consequence of a combination with Crichton, he invited into the castle of Edinburgh, and massacred in cold blood, showed that the greatest crimes could not obstruct the accomplishment of his political designs.

When the young King came of age, Sir Alexander was accused of having alienated the royal domains, and wasted the revenues of the crown, and even of having converted to his own use the jewels and furniture of the palaces. With what evidence of truth these charges were supported is unknown. State-trials, in those ages, were commonly no more than mere formalities; and sentence was often pronounced upon general charges, without full proof, and sometimes without examination of witnesses. Sir Alexander was found guilty; his estate was confiscated, and himself committed prisoner to the castle of Dumbarton. Two of his sons were brought to trial at the same time, one

one of whom was sentenced to lose his head. History is intirely silent as to his particular crime ; but it hath transmitted an affecting speech upon the instability of human affairs, which he delivered at his execution *. The King afterwards, either from a persuation of the iniquity, or, at least, the illegality of the sentence, which had been pronounced against Sir Alexander, or from that caprice which as often directs the councils of princes as it does those of other men, not only restored him to his estate, but admitted him a member of his privy-council, employed him in fundry public negotiations with England, and, at last, conferred upon him the important office of Justice-general. He died about 1450.

JAMES LORD LIVINGSTONE, High Chamberlain, was eldest son of Sir Alexander Livingstone of Callender, who is the subject of the preceeding memoir. During the time that his father held the high office of governor, and also during the calamities that

* Pitscottie.

that befell him, this young man had always behaved with so much moderation and prudence, that he came into great favour with the King, who chose him to be one of his constant attendants, and bestowed upon him the command of the castle of Stirling, where his Majesty often resided. After his father's death, he was raised to the peerage, by the title of Lord Livingstone, made master of the King's household, and, at last, Great Chamberlain, in which office he continued till the King's death in 1460, and had it bestowed upon him a-new in the minority of James III. in whose reign he was also employed in several public transactions between England and Scotland. He held the office of chamberlain to his death, in 1467*.

SIR REGINALD MORE, Great Chamberlain. In the reigns of Alexanders I. and II. a family, furnamed de Moreham, possessed a large estate, lying upon both sides of the river Carron. Amongst other descendants

* Crawford's state officers.

scendents of that family, was Sir Reginald More, who, in the reign of David Bruce, was advanced to the office of Great Chamberlain; and, for his fidelity to the Brucean interest, at that turbulent period, had fundry other marks of the royal favour conferred upon him. His ordinary residence was at a place now called Skaith-muir, upon the north side of Carron, where he built a stately hall*; some remains of the offices belonging to which are yet to be seen. He married one of the co-heiresses of the Grahams of Eskdale, with whom he received the lands of Abercorn, which became the residence of the family for two or three generations, till an only daughter transferred the estate, together with her own person, to Sir William Lindsay of Byres, the progenitor of the Earls of Crawford; in consequence of which the Lindsays came to have a large property in the shire of Stirling. Sir David Lindsay of Byres, who is distinguished for his fidelity to James III. and who commanded a body of the royal forces
at

* Chartulary of Newbottle.

at the battle of Sauchie-burn, was grandson of this lady. Sir Reginald died about 1340*.

SIR ROBERT ERSKINE, Great Chamberlain, was descended of an antient family, who, when surnames came into use, derived theirs from a barony of land of that name in the west of Scotland. He was distinguished for his steady attachment to the Brucean interest, in the turbulent reign of David II. on account of which, and also of his eminent talents, he was employed in different negociations concerning the ransom of that Monarch, who had been so unfortunate as to be taken captive, and detained in England several years. When the treaty for his release was finally adjusted, Sir Robert's eldest son and heir was sent, amongst others, into that kingdom, as an hostage, till performance of the articles thereof. As the reward of such faithful services, the King, upon his restoration to his dominions, conferred every mark of favour

* Crawford's state officers.

favour and confidence upon Sir Robert. He employed him in several negociations with England, and also with other states; he raised him to the office of Great Chamberlain, and also to that of Great Justiciary upon the north side of the river Forth; appointed him governor of the castle of Stirling, and sheriff of the shire, in which Sir Robert had sundry possessions. He was also in high favour with Robert II. the first of the Stewart family, having been eminently instrumental in bringing about his succession to the crown. In his old age, he resigned the office of chamberlain; and, retiring from court, betook himself to a private life. He died in 1385*.

ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD High Treasurer, was a younger son of William Crawford proprietor of the lands of Manuel and Haining, in the shire we are surveying. Being bred to the church, and having passed through several inferior ecclesiastical stations, he was, in 1457, nominated to the

* Crawford's state officers.

abbotship of Holyroodhouse. Having also obtained a high reputation, on account of his talents and integrity, he was employed in many important civil transactions. In 1458, he was nominated to be one of the Lords of council and session, which, at that time, was no other than an ambulatory committee of parliament, appointed for special purposes, and for a limited time. He was also employed in different transactions with England. He was included, with others, in a commission to negotiate a treaty of marriage betwixt James II. and a daughter of Edward IV. which did not take effect. To reward his services, he was advanced to the office of Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, which he held till his death. He added several embellishments to the monastery of Holyroodhouse. Having pulled down the old church, which was but a mean fabric, he erected, in the same spot, one more capacious and magnificent, which was an ornament to the place, till it was disfigured by the English, after the

the battle of Pinky, in 1547. He died in 1483*.

JOHN Earl of MARR, Regent. This nobleman, being a younger brother, was educated for the church, and, in his youth, had the revenues of the priory of Inchmachome bestowed *in commendam* upon him by James V.; but, upon the death of his two elder brothers, he relinquished the ecclesiastical life, and prepared himself for civil employments. After the death of his father, he had many acts of royal favour conferred upon him, both by the regent Mary, and the queen of the same name. From the last of these, he received a new grant of the governorship of the castle of Stirling to himself and his heirs, together with the office of baillie of the Forth, and chamberlain of the Lordship of Stirling. Queen Mary also committed the care and tuition of her son James VI. to him and his lady, who were particularly attentive to the important charge. He did not at first enter into

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* Crawford's state officers.

the views of the reformers, at least, with any degree of vigour; but, when the nation came to be divided between the interest of Mary and that of her son, he espoused the cause of the latter, and gained so much the esteem of that party, that, upon the death of Lennox, he was unanimously chosen regent in his stead. He had enjoyed that office little more than a year, when he died, in the prime of life, in 1572.

JOHN Earl of MARR High Treasurer, the only son of that Earl of Marr, who is the subject of the preceding memoir, received his education along with James VI. under the care of the celebrated George Buchanan. In his youth, however, he was in no great favour at court, being a friend to the Earl of Morton, and one of those who were concerned in the Raid of Ruthven, for which he was exiled with the rest; but, upon the accommodation that took place, he was taken into the royal favour, which he retained all his life. Amongst other offices of trust, in which he was employed, the care and tuition of Prince Henry was committed

mitted to him, and he discharged the trust with distinguished fidelity. Upon the accession of James to the crown of England, the Earl had new marks of the royal favour and confidence conferred upon him. He obtained a grant of the abbacies of Cambuskenneth and Drybrugh, together with the priory of Inchmachome. He was also raised to the office of high treasurer for Scotland, which, after having held it for fifteen years, he resigned and retired from public business. He died at Stirling in 1634*.

JOHN Earlof MONTROSE High Treasurer. This nobleman's father having been slain at the battle of Pinky in 1547, his grandfather took great care of his education; and, in order to give him an early acquaintance with public business, frequently sent him to parliament as his proxy. Upon the death of his grandfather, in 1571, he was admitted a privy counsellor. He was distinguished for his activity in the prosecution

* Crawford's state officers.

tion of the Earl of Morton, and chosen foreman of the jury which brought him in guilty of those crimes with which he had been charged. For this, and other services to the court, he came into such great favour, that he was preferred to the office of Lord High Treasurer. This office he held only a short time; but, instead thereof, he obtained that of Lord High Chancellor. Upon the accession of James VI. to the crown of England, Montrose was appointed commissioner to represent his Majesty in a parliament, which met at Perth in 1604, upon the design of uniting the two kingdoms. He also presided in the same capacity, in the parliament of 1606, when episcopal government over the church of Scotland was established. He died in 1608*.

ALEXANDER LORD ELPHINSTONE, High Treasurer. This nobleman, on account of his eminent parts and learning, especially in the knowledge of law, was, in the reign

* State officers.

reign of James VI. first nominated a Lord of Session, and afterwards raised to the office of Lord High Treasurer. This last office, however, he did not long retain, having resigned it in a sort of disgust. Nevertheless, still possessing much of the public esteem, he was pitched upon by the Scottish parliament, as one of their commissioners to treat with England, concerning a more intimate union of the two kingdoms, in 1604. He died in 1648, in a very old age *.

SIR WILLIAM LIVINGSTONE of Kilfyth, Chamberlain, being a person of considerable parts and learning, especially in the knowledge of the law, was appointed one of the Senators of the College of Justice, in 1609. In a few years after, he was admitted to be one of his Majesty's privy-council, and at the same time constituted Vice Chamberlain of Scotland. He died in 1627 †.

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* State officers.

† Idem.

S O L D I E R S.

SIR JOHN GRAHAM was second son of David, or, according to other accounts, John Graham, who made a considerable figure in the reign of Alexander III. and was proprietor of the lands of Strathblane, Dundaff, and Strathcarron, in the shire of Stirling. Sir John had been bred up in high notions of the liberty and independence of his country. His father, though he had been obliged, amongst the rest of the Scottish Barons, to comply with the terms of Edward I. yet still retained a patriotic spirit, and not only favoured the cause of Sir William Wallace, but often entertained that hero in his house at Dundaff. Sir John had given early proofs of his courage and military capacity, infomuch that he had been knighted by Alexander III. as the reward of his gallant behaviour, in a rencounter between the English and Scots at Berwick *. His military turn, and love to his country, led him early to associate with Wallace, whom he
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* Common historians.

so constantly attended, as to have a share in all his exploits. At his first setting out upon so dangerous an expedition, his father, according to a Scottish custom, made him swear, upon a broad sword, that he would be faithful to that patriot, and maintain the liberty of his country to his last breath. This engagement he literally fulfilled; for, from that time, he accompanied Wallace in all his perilous adventures, and was the companion of all his victories. He was with him at the battle of Black-iron-side, where he received a slight wound; at the burning of the barns of Ayr; the taking of the castle of Crawford; the battles of Larnark and Stirling. He was reckoned next in military skill to Wallace himself, who commonly stiled him his right hand. At the fatal battle of Falkirk, in 1298, he was one of that select body who defended the rear, in the retreat from the field to the river Carron. In that post, after having performed many signal acts of valour in repelling the pursuers, he was slain, and was buried in the church-yard of Falkirk, where

where his grave-stone, of which notice hath already been taken, is still to be seen.

JAMES GRAHAM, Marquis of Montrose, was descended of the same family with Sir John Graham, who is the subject of the preceeding memoir, being the only son of John Earl of Montrose, who had married a daughter of the Earl of Gourie. In his youth he applied himself to literature, and made great progress in the Latin and Greek languages. Afterwards, his genius led him to a military life, in which he discovered great talents, and, at the same time, a restless and enterprising spirit, being quick in his resolutions, and usually as quick in the execution of them. At the breaking out of the civil war between Charles I. and his Scottish subjects, this nobleman was upon the side of the covenanters, and a strenuous opposer of the royal measures. He headed an expedition to the north, to enforce the covenant, and was one of those who carried on the dispute with the university of Aberdeen, upon that subject. He was also a member of the general assembly
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at Glasgow, in 1638, and concurred in all their resolutions. When, in 1639, the Scottish army encamped upon Dunse-law, he was intrusted with a great military command; nor is it forgotten that he was one of those who subscribed the letter, which made so much noise in those times, addressed *Au Roy*, supposed to mean the King of France. In the second Scottish expedition to England, in 1640, he led the van, and, to encourage his men, lighted from his horse, and, after going through the river Tweed, returned, upon pretence of showing them the way. Before that time, however, he had formed a resolution of relinquishing that party, and attaching himself to the King. Various reasons have been assigned for this sudden change; but, whether he was won with the civilities of Charles, to whom he had been admitted at Berwick, having been one of the commissioners appointed by the Scottish nobles to wait upon that monarch, in order to treat of an accommodation; or, if he was disgusted at the appointment of Lesly to the chief command of the Scottish army, which he

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thought

thought his own rank and abilities intitled him to, cannot be determined. It is certain that, about that time, he devoted himself entirely to the interest of Charles, and entered into a secret correspondence with him, making an offer of his services, which, at last, were cordially accepted, in the present almost desperate state of the royal cause. Having communicated a plan of making a diversion in Scotland, in the King's behalf, he, after having had the title of Marquis conferred upon him, was dispatched with a commission to put it in execution. Upon his arrival in the Highlands, and imparting his design to those that were well affected to the royal cause, a small army was collected, which was soon augmented by fifteen hundred men from Ireland, under the command of Alexander M'Donald, brother to the Earl of Antrim. Montrose, putting himself at the head of this armament, entered upon that great and daring enterprise, which hath rendered his name so celebrated. His success, at first, was so rapid, that, in the space of twelve months, he over-ran the greatest part of Scotland, and

and gained six victories, the last of which was at Kilsyth. These successes, however, tended, in some measure, to the ruin of Charles; for a treaty of accommodation, which was far advanced, between that monarch and the English parliament, in 1645, was broken off by the reports of the victories of Montrose, who had written to his Majesty, dissuading him from entering into any terms with his rebellious subjects, and assuring him, that, as he was now master of Scotland, he would be able, in a few months, to march into England with his victorious army. But his confidence was too great; for, very soon after, his troops were totally defeated by General David Leslie, at Philip-haugh. Upon this disaster, he fled first into Holland, but soon after passed into France, where he formed an acquaintance with Cardinal Retz, who celebrates him in his memoirs, as one of those heroes, of whom there are no longer any remains in the world, and who are only to be met with in Plutarch. During his exile, Montrose was still meditating new enterprises, which, upon his return to Scotland, in

in 1650, he began to put in execution, He raised a small army, in order to make an effort in behalf of Charles II. but soon met with a total overthrow; and was taken prisoner, as is generally affirmed, by the perfidy of a friend in whom he confided. Being carried before the Scottish parliament, at Edinburgh, he received sentence of death, which was immediately put in execution, with circumstances that are well known.

Montrose had a poetical turn, which he sometimes indulged at his leisure hours. The following epitaph, which he composed upon Charles I. hath been handed down, in which the boldness and extravagance of the figures are characteristic of the fiery and enterprising spirit of the author :

Great, good, and just, could I but rate
My grief to thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world in such a strain,
As it should deluge once again:
But, since thy case much rather cries
For Briareus' hands than Argus' eyes,
I'll tune thy elegies to trumpet sounds,
And write thy epitaph in blood and wounds *.

JAMES

* Guthry's memoirs.

JAMES LIVINGSTONE Earl of Callander, was second son of Alexander first Earl of Linlithgow, by Eleanor Hay, daughter of the Earl of Errol. He learned the art military in the wars of Bohemia, Sweden, and Holland, where he acquired the reputation of an eminent soldier. Upon his return home, he was made gentleman of the bed-chamber to Charles I. who likewise raised him to the peerage, by the title of Lord Livingstone and Almond. In the beginning of the civil war, he warmly espoused the cause of the covenanters, and was intrusted with a military command in their first expedition to the borders in 1639. Upon the short-lived accommodation which took place in 1641, between Charles and his Scottish subjects, he was created Earl of Callander, and also named treasurer by the crown, but rejected by the parliament. When the war broke out a-new, he was much intrusted by the covenanters, and did fundry important services to that party. He assisted the Earl of Leven in reducing York, after the battle of Marston-muir in 1644, and next year performed a signal

nal exploit in the taking of Carlisle, in which he found a large supply of arms and ammunition. However, upon the King's arrival in the Scottish camp, the Earl warmly attached himself to him, and ever after strenuously exerted his best endeavours in his service. He was lieutenant-general of the army, which, in 1648, marched into England under Duke Hamilton, in order to attempt the rescue of Charles from his confinement in the Isle of Wight. After the defeat of that enterprise, he fled into Holland; his estate was sequestrated, and himself exempted out of Cromwell's act of indemnity. After the restoration, he returned to Scotland, and died in 1672.

COLONEL EDMOND was a native of the town of Stirling. Being descended of mean parents, he was deprived of the advantages of a liberal education; but his natural abilities raised him to public observation. Going abroad, when very young, he enlisted as a common soldier in the army of Maurice Prince of Orange, where he so signalized himself by his valour, that he
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was soon taken notice of, and gradually advanced from his first low station, as a private soldier, to the rank of a colonel. After having acquired a competent fortune, and much military fame abroad, he returned to his native country; and, fixing his residence at Stirling, was held in great esteem by all ranks of men. His beneficence to his relations, and acts of public charity to the place of his nativity, are still related with pleasure by the elderly inhabitants of that town. One of his daughters was married to Sir Thomas Livingstone of Jerviswood, who received a handsome fortune with her. The eldest son of that marriage was created Viscount Teviot by King William, in 1698*.

AUTHORS AND DIVINES.

MR GEORGE BUCHANAN. This accomplished scholar, who was so great an ornament to his country, and whose name and writings are so well known to the learned throughout all Europe, was a native of the shire we are surveying. In the account of his life, written by himself, we are told, he was born near the river Blane
in

* Douglas peerage, 668.

in Lennox, by which is undoubtedly meant the antient Earldom of that name, which was so extensive, as to comprehend a part of each of the shires of Lanark and Dumbarton, together with near the half of that of Stirling. A farm-house, well known in that neighbourhood, and situated so near the water of Blane, as to be almost surrounded by it in land-floods, is allowed, without dispute, to have been the place where that celebrated person drew his first breath, in 1506. The house, which, together with a small quantity of land around it, was the property of his grandfather, lies in the parish of Killearn; it hath been built a-new since that time, though an oaken beam or ceil, which supported the roof of the old fabric, is said to remain in the present. The place is often visited by the curious. An Irish student, not many years ago, came from the college of Glasgow to take a view of it; and, lodging all night, ordered a bed to be fitted up for him immediately beneath that old beam, as if he thought the muses, who had been so friendly to a former inhabitant of the house, still continued to haunt it.

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The life of this distinguished wit, which consisted of many curious incidents, and uncommon revolutions, hath been written by himself, and by sundry others. The abject poverty in which the early death of his father, and the prodigality of his grandfather, involved him; the generosity of his uncle George Heriot, to which he was indebted for his education; the indigence to which the death of that benefactor reduced him, insomuch that he was forced, for bread, to enlist as a common soldier; the seasonable relief he met with from the friendly attention of Professor John Major to his merit and necessity; the persecution he met with from the Scottish clergy, on account of his poignant satires against their superstitious practices, and scandalous lives; his escape from prison, to which priestly tyranny had confined him; his several journies to France, and the literary offices in which he was there employed; his falling into the hands of the inquisition in Portugal; his confinement in a monastery there, where he had imposed upon him, as a sort of penance, the task of turning the psalms of

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David into Latin verse, which he accomplished with an inimitable elegance and force of expression ; his residence for some time in England, and final return to Scotland, and settlement there ; all these are so well known, that the bare mention of them is sufficient.

Notwithstanding this unsettled manner of life, Mr Buchanan still continued to pursue those literary studies, for an uncommon progress in which he came to be so much celebrated. His distinguished literature raised him to public observation, and so far attracted the attention of the court, that he was called upon to act as preceptor to a natural son of James V. who was afterwards well known by the titles of Earl of Murray and Regent of Scotland. As soon as he had finished the education of that favourite pupil, he was invited abroad to act in the same capacity to Timoleon de Cossi, son to the Marshall de Brissac ; and, in 1565, he was called home by Queen Mary to take the charge of educating her son, James VI. ; and, until the Prince should arrive at a proper age, Buchanan was nominated to the

the principality of St Andrew's, and received, besides, an yearly pension from the temporalities of the monastery of Corse-regal.

When the young Prince was placed under his care, he discharged his office with fidelity, but, at the same time, kept him in great awe. He seems to have entertained no high opinion of his natural parts; for, when afterwards it was thrown up to him, by way of reproach, that he had made the King a pedant, 'it is a wonder,' he replied, 'that I have been able to make so much of him.' He ordinarily resided in the castle of Stirling, with his pupil, whom he was careful not only to instruct in grammatical knowledge, but also gave him frequent lessons of morality and virtue, which, at times, he did not hesitate to enforce with the rod.

Being one day much disturbed while he was reading, by the clamours of the royal youth, he desired him several times to be quiet, but without effect; upon which, laying aside his book, he applied the rod with great severity. The Prince made his complaint

plaint to Lady Marr, who smartly reproved Buchanan, asking, 'how he durst put his hand on the Lord's anointed?' He made this ungentlemanny reply, though characteristic enough of his own cynical temper: 'Madam, you may, if your Ladyship pleases, apply your mouth where I have applied my fists.' A son of the Earl of Marr had tamed a sparrow with so much care, that it attended him wherever he went; the Prince tried every method to obtain possession of this bird, but could not prevail upon the owner to part with so favourite a creature. At last, getting it into his hands, he twisted off its head. Buchanan observing this action of his pupil, and grieved to discern so early an instance of barbarity and revenge, in one who was, in all probability, to rule over mankind, saw it necessary to apply the rod, accompanying it with this ill-natured reflection, 'that, what the Prince had done, was like a true bird of the bloody nest of which he was sprung *.'

Several of Buchanan's jests and repartees, even when he was in polite company, were so coarse and indelicate, as to seem unworthy

* M'Kenzie's lives of Scots writers.

unworthy of so fine a scholar; but we must consider, that what amuses, so as to raise mirth and laughter, in one age, cannot produce that effect in another. Many of his jests and amusements, which appear to have given great entertainment to men of rank and taste in antient times, cannot force a smile from a modern reader. The jocular sayings and repartees which passed between Sarmenus the buffoon and Messius Cicerrus, that occasioned such laughter to Maecenas, Horace, Virgil, and others, the politest men, and finest scholars of that age, and at an elegant repast too, in the country-house of Cocceius, would, at present, scarce give the smallest entertainment to the lowest company of clowns *.

Buchanan, except when he met with occurrences that excited the acrimony of his wit, was generally very pleasant in company, possessing an inexhaustible fund of knowledge, and often conveying moral instructions, by emblematical representation †.

He

* Hor. L. i. Sat. v.

† Melvill's memoirs.

He spent the latter part of his life in composing his history of Scotland, in which he hath discovered a purity and elegance of style nothing inferior to the most eminent of the Latin historians, though his strong attachment to the Earl of Murray, and the party of which he was the head, appears to have sometimes exposed him to the charge of partiality. We had almost forgot to mention a singular circumstance in the life of this distinguished scholar, namely, his being chosen moderator to the general assembly of the church of Scotland in 1567, an office to which no other layman was ever appointed. He was also keeper of the privy-seal for a short time, in the regency of the Earl of Murray.

In 1582 he died at Edinburgh, in the 76th year of his age. Being told, when he was on his death-bed, that the King was much incensed against him, on account both of his history, and his treatise *de Jure Regni*, he answered, 'That he was little concerned about it; for he was shortly going to a place where very few Kings had a residence.' His familiar acquaintance with
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the Greek and Roman authors had given him a strong tincture of republican principles; and this probably was the true spring of that aversion to monarchs, whose power he was for circumscribing within very narrow limits.

When he was drawing near his end, he inquired of his servant 'what money he had belonging to him?' and finding that it was not sufficient to defray the charges of his funeral, he commanded it to be distributed among the poor. His servant asking, 'who, in that case, would be at the expence of burying him?' he replied, 'That he was quite unconcerned about that; for, when he was once dead, if nobody would bury him, they might let him lie where he was.' The city of Edinburgh buried him at the public expence. No statue was erected to his memory. He despised all pomp during his life; and often repeated what was said of Cato, 'That he would rather have it asked, Why he did lack a statue? than have one, though ever so magnificent *.'

A skull, uncommonly thin and light, is preserved in the library of the university of

* M'Kenzie.

of Edinburgh, which is said to be that of Buchanan, having been dug up in the place where he was buried. Anatomists are the most proper judges of the structure of the different parts of the human body, and whether a difference in the constitution thereof, hath any degree of influence upon the faculties and operations of the mind. But, near to that which is called the skull of the lively Buchanan, in the same library, lies another, remarkably thick and heavy, which is said to be the skull of one who was an arrant idiot, and incapable of every kind of instruction.

His principal works are, 1st, *Paraphrasis in psalmos Davidis, Latino carmine.* 2d, *Tragoediae duae, viz. Jephthes et Baptistes.* 3d, *Epithalamium in Marian Reginam.* 4th, *Historia rerum Scoticarum.* 5th, *Dialogus de jure regni apud Scotos;* besides many small fugitive pieces.

Mr Thomas Buchanan, brother of George, was also a person of great parts and learning.

JOHN NAPIER Baron of Merchiston, inventor of the logarithms, who was so
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great an ornament to his country, resided for some time in the shire of Stirling, in the western parts of which he had a considerable estate. He was born in 1550, being the eldest son of Sir Archibald Napier of Merchiston. Having given early discoveries of great natural parts, his father was careful to have them cultivated by a liberal education. After going through the ordinary courses of philosophy at the university of St Andrew's, he made the tour of France, Italy, and Germany. Upon his return to his native country, his literature, and other fine accomplishments, soon rendered him conspicuous, and might have raised him to the highest offices in the state; but, declining all civil employments, and the bustle of the court, he retired from the world to pursue literary researches, in which he made an uncommon progress, so as to have favoured mankind with sundry useful discoveries. He applied himself chiefly to the study of mathematics; but, at the same time, did not neglect that of the holy scriptures. In both these, he hath discovered the most extensive knowledge and profound penetra-

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tion. His essay upon the book of the Apocalypse indicates the most acute investigation, and an uncommon strength of judgment; though time hath discovered, that his calculations concerning particular events had proceeded upon fallacious data. The work which hath principally rendered his name famous, was the invention of the logarithms, of so signal advantage to the accelerating of mathematical calculations, that, by means thereof, greater progress can be made in one hour, than could have been made in a whole day by the methods used before that discovery.

This distinguished scholar resided many years at Gartness, where are sundry remarkable water-falls, in the river of Enrick. The apartment in which he prosecuted his studies is still shown to the curious; and tradition hath handed down several singularities concerning him; as that, though the noise of the cascades near the house did not in the least interrupt his investigation, yet he found himself much incommoded by artificial sounds; and that, for this reason, he frequently sent orders to stop the milns in the neighbourhood,

hood, because their noise disturbed him, when engaged in abstruse and intricate speculations.

He was twice married. By his first wife, who was a daughter of Sir James Stirling of Keir, he had only one son, named Archibald, who succeeded to the estate. By his second wife, a daughter of Sir James Chisholm of Cromlix, he had a numerous issue.

Archibald Napier, the only son of the first marriage, was a person of fine parts and learning. Having more a turn to public business than his father had, he was raised to be a Privy Counsellor by James VI. under whose reign he also held the offices of Treasurer Depute, Justice Clerk, and Senator of the College of Justice. By Charles I. he was raised to the peerage, by the title of Lord Napier *. The great John Napier, who is the subject of this memoir, died in 1617.

His principal works which have been published are, 1st, A plain discovery of the Revelation of St John. 2d, *Rhabdologiæ, seu numerationis per Virgulas, libri duo.* 3d, *Mirifici ipsius canonis constructio et logarith-*

* Crawford's peerage.

logarithmorum, ad naturales ipforum numeros habitudines. 4th, Appendix de alia atque præstantiore logarithmorum specie constituenda, in qua scilicet unitas logarithmus est. 5th, Propositiones quædam eminentissimæ, ad triangula sphærica mira facultate resolvenda.

Mr ROBERT ROLLOCK was son of David Rollock or Rollo of Powhouse, in the shire of Stirling. He received a liberal education at the university of St. Andrew's, and, when very young, was elected a regent in St Salvator's college of that place. In 1583, he was advanced to the principality of the university of Edinburgh, which had been lately erected. He also exercised the function of the ministry in that town, and was held in so general esteem, that he was chosen moderator of the general assembly, which met at Dundee in 1597. He died in a very Christian manner in 1598, in the 43d year of his age. He published commentaries on several books of scripture, with other theological works *.

Mr

* Mackenzie

Mr WILLIAM COUPER Bishop of Galloway, having been in his younger years a zealous presbyterian, was first ordained to the ministry at Bothkenner in the shire of Stirling, in 1587, where he exercised the duties of his function with general approbation, till 1595, when he was removed to the town of Perth. Upon the establishment of Episcopal government in Scotland, he changed sides, and was promoted to the See of Galloway, where he acted in behalf of that system, with a zeal no less vigorous than that which he had formerly exerted on the part of presbytery. He was a man of considerable parts and learning, and of an unblemished moral character. The accounts that have been given of him by opposite parties, have no doubt been much exaggerated upon both sides. Those of the Episcopal persuasion have represented him as a man of extraordinary abilities, and of a piety so distinguished, as to be almost without example, except in the primitive times. Upon the other hand, presbyterians have exhibited him in the most odious point of view; in which we cannot

not but discern a strong tincture of prejudice, on account of his having relinquished their party. He died at Leith in 1619, of a dilirium, which his enemies, with too daring a presumption, have ventured to construct as a divine judgment upon him for having abandoned his first principles. He published several sermons, with other theological tracts.

Mr ROBERT BRUCE was second son of Bruce of Airth, from whom he had the estate of Kinnaird as his patrimony. He received a liberal education, and went to France to study the law, with the intention of qualifying himself to be a senator of the college of justice ; but afterwards, turning his views to the church, he began to preach about 1590, and exercised his first functions in the ministry at Edinburgh. He was once in high favour with James VI. who expressed his esteem of him by the following extravagant complement, ‘ That
‘ Mr Bruce was worth the half of the
‘ kingdom.’ But his spirited opposition afterwards, to several measures of that unstable

stable monarch, drew upon him much of the royal displeasure, and was the occasion of his being confined a prisoner, first in the castle of Edinburgh, and then at Inverness; his unwillingness to give public thanks for the King's deliverance from Gowrie's conspiracy, of the reality of which he, with many others, at that time, entertained a doubt, and which still remains a problem in history, was a cause of his suffering an exile, for some time, in England. Afterwards he obtained permission to return to his native country, upon condition of his confining himself to the neighbourhood of his own house at Kinnaird. At that time the parish of Larbert having neither church nor minister, he repaired the church, at his own expence, and performed the duties of the pastoral office in the parish. He was a man of parts and learning, of steady resolution and true piety, and of a very majestic appearance. He died about 1632, expressing his full hope of a blessed immortality, and pointing with his finger to the eight chapter, and thirty eight verse of the sacred epistle to the Romans *. His sermons, a few of

* Life of Mr Robert Bruce.

of which have been published, discover a solidity of reasoning, and an energy of expression, superior to most of the performances of that age.

Sir THOMAS HOPE of Kerse, King's Advocate, son of Henry Hope, an eminent merchant, was a person of singular parts and learning. Being bred to the law, he became very eminent in that profession. When very young, he was employed to plead the cause of the presbyterian ministers, who were indicted, in 1605, for denying the King's authority in ecclesiastical matters. Having discharged that trust with such distinguished abilities and fidelity as gave great satisfaction to his employers, he was ever after consulted in all difficulties by that party of the clergy, who regarded his opinion as an oracle. His eminent talents also attracted the notice of the court, insomuch that, though he was a zealous puritan, he was nominated by James VI. joint King's advocate with Sir William Oliphant, upon whose death he executed that office alone. He was supposed

posed to understand the abstruse subject of tithes above any man of his time. Upon that account, he was constituted a commissioner for planting of kirks, and employed to bring back the church-lands to the possession of the crown; but he proceeded so slowly in the execution of that project, as raised a suspicion, that his principles would not permit him to exert his usual vigour, but led him to act in secret concert with those who opposed the measure.

Upon the breaking out of the civil war, he espoused the side opposite to the court. Still, however, he retained the favour of Charles I. who appointed him a commissioner of the exchequer, and also commissioner to represent his royal person, in the general assembly that met in 1643. That office, which hath always been deemed of great dignity, hath never been executed by a commoner since.

Sir Thomas had the singular pleasure of seeing three of his sons advanced to be senators of the college of justice, one of whom, of the same name with himself, was afterwards raised to the high office of justice-

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general;

general ; as it was thought improper, that his hoary head should be uncovered, when, in his pleadings, he addressed a court, in which so many of his own children sat as judges, he was allowed to be covered whenever he pleased. This was the original of a privilege which the King's advocates are said still to enjoy, of pleading before the court of session with their hats upon their heads, if they chuse*, though their good breeding never permits them to make use of it. He received much wealth by his father, which was greatly increased in his own time, insomuch, that he left considerable estates to each of his four sons, one of whom was ancestor of the noble family of Hopeton, and another of the Hopes of Kerse. He died in 1646. His literary performances, which are still much esteemed, and show his extensive knowledge of the law are, 1. Major practicks. 2. Minor practicks. 3d, *Parallella ex universo juris corpore* ; besides several smaller pieces.

MR

* Douglas's peerage, p. 349.

MR JOHN LIVINGSTONE was born in the parish of Moniabrock, now better known by the name of Kilsyth, in 1603. His father, who was a relation of the Livingstones of Kilsyth, which was a branch of that of Callender, possessed a small estate, whereof the lands, upon which the present village of Kilsyth is built, were a part. The person who is the subject of this memoir, received a good education, and was distinguished for his early piety. Turning his views to the ministry, he was for many years a pastor in Ireland; afterwards returning to his native country, he was first settled at Stranrawer, and next at Ancrum, near Jedburgh. He was an eminently active, and also an uncommonly successful instrument in promoting the interest of religion, both in Ireland and Scotland. He wrote memoirs, in which he hath given us not only the different incidents and revolutions of his own lot, but hath transmitted many anecdotes of fundry valuable persons, who were his intimate acquaintance, and also cast light upon several public transactions. He died in 1672.

MR

MR PATRICK SIMPSON was minister at Stirling, in a part of both the reigns of James VI. and Charles I. He was a man of eminent piety, and of considerable learning, especially in the knowledge of the fathers and church-history. He wrote a history of the church, from the primitive times to his own, exhibiting a view of each century by itself; but we know not whether this work was ever published.

S E C T. XV.

The Battle of Kilsyth, in 1645.

I N 1645, when the affairs of Charles I. were much upon the decline in England, a vigorous effort was made by James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, to reduce Scotland to his Majesty's allegiance, or, at least, to make a powerful diversion in his favour, by obliging the recal of the Scottish forces, which had so sensibly thrown the
balance

balance on the side of the English parliament. The active zeal of this nobleman, at first, upon the side of the covenanters, with his desertion of that party to attach himself to the interest of the King, hath been mentioned in a former section. His services were no sooner offered, and the probable consequences of them considered, than they were cordially accepted, in the present almost desperate state of the royal cause. A plan of operations, suggested by this new adventurer, was immediately adopted; and, titles of honour being almost the only favours which the sovereign, in his present circumstances, could bestow upon his friends, he was raised from the rank of an Earl, which his family had possessed for several generations, to the higher one of a Marquis, and appointed commander in chief of the King's forces in Scotland. Upon his arrival in that kingdom, he was instantly joined by several of the northern clans, who were friends to the royal cause. An army, far from being inconsiderable, was raised, and soon augmented by a supply of fifteen hundred foot from Ireland, under the command of

of Alexander M'Donald, brother to the Earl of Antrim. Montrose putting himself at the head of this armament, entered upon that great and daring enterprize, which hath rendered his name so famous. He began his operations in the north; and his success was at first so rapid, that, in the space of twelve months, he gained six victories, and over-ran the greatest part of Scotland. His victories, however, were more glittering than solid. The three first, at Tippermuir, Aberdeen, and Innerlochy, were gained over tumultuary armies, which had been collected in haste, and were headed by generals not much renowned for military prowess. But his progress alarming the Scottish council, they began to think of a more regular plan of defence against an enemy, whom, formerly, they seemed rather to have despised than deemed formidable. They called Lieutenant General Baillie, an officer of great experience, from the army in England, and sent him, in conjunction with Urrey, another commander of reputation, to suppress the commotions raised by Montrose.

The

The two generals divided their forces, and marched separately in quest of this enterprising foe, who had the dexterity to turn their separation to his own advantage. For, having engaged Urrey at Alderne, near Inverness, he gave him a total overthrow, and when Baillie advanced to revenge the discomfiture of his companion, he met with the like disaster at Alford in Strathbogie. After so great a train of successes in the north, Montrose having formed a plan of descending into the southern counties, began his march towards the Forth, spreading devastation around him, whenever he entered upon the estates of any of those who were among the number of his antagonists: Nor did his Irish followers make any distinction betwixt friends and foes. He burned all the houses in the parishes of Muckart and Dollar, which belonged to the Marquis of Argyle, in requital, as was alleged, of a like injury that had been done to some of his friends in the north. When he arrived upon the banks of the Forth, his army encamped at Tillibody, and he himself dined at Alloa with the Earl of Marr, who

who was a friend of the royal cause. His soldiers, in the mean time, were plundering the town and estate which belonged to that Earl.

Next day, setting out upon his march, and passing by Stirling, not only from fear of annoyance from the castle, which was in the hands of the covenanters, but because a more dreadful enemy, the pestilence, at that time raged in the town, he crossed the Forth at the ford of Frew, four miles above that town; and, after halting a short while to refresh his men at Dundaff, a part of his own estate, he pitched his camp in the fields of Kilsyth, where, finding ground advantageous for the combat, he resolved to stay till the enemy should advance to encounter him *.

Baillie, with the army under his command, followed with such unremitting speed, that he encamped at Tillibody the same evening upon which his antagonist took up his station at Kilsyth. The horrors of a civil war are generally, of all others, the most

* Guthry's memoirs.

most dreadful ; and retaliations are usually made with an unrelenting rage. The Marquis of Argyle ordered the house of Menstrie, which belonged to the Earl of Stirling, the King's secretary, and the house of Aithray, belonging to John Graham of Breako, to be burnt ; and, at the same time, sent a message to the Earl of Marr, threatening that, upon his return, the castle of Alloa should undergo the same calamity, for the hospitality that Montrose had found in it *.

Next day, the general, crossing the river at Stirling, made a short stop at Cambusbarron, upon the south of the King's-park, waiting for some regiments from Fife, who were a few miles behind †. These, upon their arrival, were unwilling to proceed farther, alledging that they had entered into the service only upon condition of not being urged to go beyond the limits of their own shire. But, at last, being prevailed upon to continue, the army set forward in their march to Denny, and from

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thence

* Guthry's memoirs. † General Baillie's own account in Principal Baillie's letters.

thence to Holland-bush, three miles eastward of Kilfyth *.

The Marquis of Argyle, with a small body of troops, had tarried that night at Stirling; but, taking his route early in the morning over the hills, and crossing Carron in the neighbourhood of Buckie-burn, at a ford which, from this inconsiderable incident, sometimes goes by the name of Argyle's-ford to this day, he soon joined the main body of the army.

Though General Baillie was an officer of known valour and experience, yet, in the conducting of this expedition, almost nothing was left to his own judgment. A committee of noblemen had been appointed by the general committee of the states constantly to attend him. The principal members of that committee were, the Marquis of Argyle, the Earls of Crawford and Tullibardine, the Lords Elcho, Burleigh, and Balcarras, with some others. Though none of these were much renowned for military abilities, yet they had powers to direct and controul

* Guthry's memoirs. Baillie's own account.

controul the general, infomuch that, without their advice and consent, he could not enter upon any important enterprife. The route the army was to hold in its marches, the choice of the ground, and even the arrangement of the troops in the day of battle, were fettled by them *.

In a meeting of this committee, upon the morning of the 15th August 1645, it was determined to attack Montrose that day. Baillie was averse to engage so soon, both because the troops, after so hasty a march, stood in need of rest and refreshment, and because he was desirous first to learn the motions of the Earl of Lanark, who had raised a considerable body of men in the western shires to oppose Montrose. Finding himself, however, obliged to yield to the dictates of the committee, he put the army in motion; and, marching westward, thro' fields of corn, and much irregular ground, soon came in sight of the enemy, who, having got timeous intelligence of his design, stood in order of battle to receive him, and rejoiced

* General Baillie's own account.

rejoiced in the prospect of coming to an engagement, in ground which they themselves had previously chosen, and, before the levies from the west, under Lanark, should arrive to his assistance.

Baillie began to form in a situation, which appeared to him the most advantageous that the place afforded, in a field near Achin-clough, two miles east of Kilfyth. But the committee, dissatisfied with his plan, forced him to relinquish that station, and draw up upon an hill more to the right. This motion gave great advantage to the enemy, as it introduced a disorder among the troops which the general could not rectify. The limited powers, with which he was invested, rendered him unable to execute any regular plan. His orders were so far from being strictly obeyed, that some regiments, instead of the station he assigned them, took another; others took post where they liked best themselves *.

The army of Montrose, consisting of only four thousand four hundred foot, and
five

* General Baillie's own account.

five hundred horse, was inferior to that of his antagonist, which amounted to six thousand foot, besides a thousand horse. But he had the choice and advantage of the ground, and being invested with supreme and uncontrolled command, had arranged his troops in the best order. As the weather was exceedingly hot, he commanded all the men, both horse and foot, to throw off their upper garments, and fight in their shirts *. This rendered their appearance striking and uncommon, and gave rise to a tradition still current, that the army of Montrose fought naked at Kilsyth.

The battle at last joined, in a field so broken and irregular, that, did not both history and tradition agree, in pointing it out as the spot where this rencounter happened, it could hardly be conceived, that it had ever been pitched upon, as the scene of any military operation. That field lies around the hollow, where a reservoir is now formed for supplying the great canal with water, a little northward of a place called *Shaw*.

* Wishart's history of Montrose.

Shaw-end. Two or three of Baillie's regiments began the action, by attempting to dislodge a party of the enemy who had taken post in some cottages and yards; but, meeting with a very warm reception, they were forced to retire. This brought on the general engagement, which appears to have been conducted in a manner altogether tumultuary. A body of a thousand Highlanders in Montrose's army, without waiting for orders, marched up the hill to attack the enemy; he was much displeased with their rashness, but seeing it necessary to support them, sent a strong detachment under the command of the Earl of Airly to their assistance, whose arrival not only preserved this resolute corps from being overpowered by a superior force, with which they were going to engage, but turned the balance against their antagonists, who were obliged to retreat. By this time, the whole army of Montrose had advanced, and making a general assault, threw that of Baillie into so great confusion, that he found it impossible to rally any part of them. Upon this disaster, the general, who, during
the

the action, had exerted himself with all the activity which his present fettered situation would admit, rode with full speed, to bring up the *corps de reserve*, in order to make an attempt to retrieve the state of affairs; but he found that that body had also taken to flight.

A total rout ensued, and the conquerors pursuing, committed dreadful slaughter, in-
somuch that few of the foot escaped. The Irish too, in Montrose's army, not satisfied with slaying without mercy those that fled from the battle, massacred many of the unarmed inhabitants of the country.

This was the most compleat victory that Montrose had ever gained, and with a very small loss upon his side, only seven or eight persons having been slain, three of whom were named Ogilvie, being relations of the family of Airly. This account appears almost incredible, when we consider the different rencounters which appear to have happened in the field, and the brisk fire given for a little, by five of Baillie's regiments *. Near the field of battle, upon
the

* Wilsart's history. The general's own account.

the south, lies a large morass, called *Dolater bog*, through the midst of which the canal now stretches. Several of Baillie's cavalry, in the hurry of their flight, ran unawares into this bog, where they perished. The dead bodies of both men and horses, according to common report, have been dug up there, in the memory of people yet alive. And, as moss is endowed with a quality which long preserves dead bodies from putrefaction, they are said not to have been greatly consumed. Yea, as tradition goes, one was found upon horseback, with all his military accoutrements upon him, in the very posture in which he had sunk.

At the time of this battle, guns were fired, by applying a match to them, flints not being in use. It was reported, that several of Baillie's regiments not being properly supplied with these instruments, fired none at all *.

A great number of prisoners was taken, and, after the victory, Montrose became master of all the country. Edinburgh and Glasgow,

* Ibidem.

Glasgow, with fundry other towns and shires, compounded with him for large sums of money. Being lifted up beyond measure with this success, he wrote a letter to the King, informing him of the great and prosperous efforts he had made in his cause, and dissuading him from entering into any terms with his undutiful subjects; moreover, assuring him, that, as he was now entire master of Scotland, he would be able, in a few months, to march into England with his victorious army. In one of his letters, written about that time, he concluded with these words, ‘I have gone over the whole land, from Dan to Beertheba, come thou and take this city, lest I take it, and it be called by my name.’ This letter, however, never reached Charles; for, upon Montrose’s defeat at Philip-haugh, his papers were seized before he had dispatched the courier*.

After the defeat, the Marquis of Argyle, and the rest of the nobility, fled to different places. General Baillie, with such of the cavalry as he could collect, repaired to Stirling; he was afterwards called to account, by the committee of estates, for the

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loss

* Burnet’s history of his own times.

loss of the battle ; malicious aspersions having been raised against him, as if he had not acted with proper vigour and fidelity ; but he vindicated himself, and was found to have acted, in every step, in strict conformity to the directions of the field committee, which had been appointed to attend him.

S E C T. XVI.

The Battle of Falkirk in 1746.

IT hath often happened, that the same places, in different periods of time, have been the scenes of similar transactions. The Roman authors observe, that Cæsar Octavianus, afterwards named Augustus, defeated Brutus and Cassius in the neighbourhood of Pharsalia, where Julius Cæsar had obtained a victory over Pompey ; this observation hath furnished Virgil with the following elegant lines,

Ergo

Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
 Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi:
 Nec fuit indignum superis, bis sanguine nostro
 Emathiam et latos Hæmi pinguescere campos * †.

Several examples of the same kind occur in the shire we are surveying. The fields between Stirling and Logie, which, about the middle of the ninth century, were covered with the blood of the Picts and Scots, were, in the end of the thirteenth, again moistened with that of the Scots and English. Nearly adjoining to the field of Bannockburn, so famous for the defeat of the English by Robert Bruce, lies the tract of ground where James III. joined battle with

* Georg. L. i. v. 489.

† In this observation, however, the Poet hath committed an error in geography, almost as capital as he has done in chronology, when he hath made Æneas cotemporary with Dido; for the whole breadth of the country called Macedonia lies betwixt Philippi and Pharsalia, which are distant from one another, at least one hundred and fifty miles; yet fundry authors, besides Virgil, as Lucan and Florus, have adopted the same error, and Ovid hath made a line and an half of it.

————— Pharsalia sentiet illum,
 Æmathiaque iterum madefacti cæde Philippi.

with his disaffected subjects, who were headed by his own son. The town of Falkirk is situated between two fields of battle, one upon the north, where the Scots, under Sir William Wallace, engaged the numerous host of England, commanded by Edward I. in person; the other upon the south, where the army of George II. met that of the rebels, headed by the young Pretender in 1746.

The exiled family of Stewart have twice attempted to reascend the throne of Britain, and have as often met with disappointment. In 1715, the partizans of that family made an effort to pluck the crown from the head of George I. before he had well felt the weight of it. Thirty years after, in the reign of George II. the design was renewed, but with no greater success.

In 1745, when Britain was engaged in a continental war, which had drawn the greatest part of her forces abroad, Charles Edward, the eldest son of the Chevalier de St George, and grand-son of James II. who had abdicated the throne in 1688, took an opportunity of reviving the claims of his family

family upon the crown. Whether the enterprise was first suggested to him by the French court, or by his own youthful ardour, is uncertain; though it does not admit of a doubt, that he was stimulated to the execution of it, by promises of support and assistance from that court, who hoped to derive advantages from such a diversion in Britain, as should oblige the recall of those troops from Flanders, which had sensibly thrown the balance in favour of the house of Austria.

The young adventurer being furnished with a sum of money, and a quantity of arms, by the court of France, and, at the same time, receiving assurances of renewed supplies, embarked, on the 15th July, at a port in Brittany, and, soon landing in the Highlands of Scotland, was joined by a number of the heads of the northern clans, who retained an attachment to his family, and who, together with their vassals and retainers, formed a small army, scarcely amounting to four thousand men, and the greatest part of these undisciplined, unarmed, and but poorly cloathed.

Putting

Putting himself at the head of this motely croud, he set out upon the execution of the romantic project he had formed in his own imagination, of overturning a regular government, and mounting the throne of his ancestors. His success, at first, was such, as tended to flatter his youthful expectations, though, in reality, it was more glittering than solid, as having been obtained in a country where there were few regular forces to withstand his progress, and where the inhabitants, who were generally unfriendly to his claims, had not got time to recover themselves from the surprise into which so unexpected a commotion had thrown them. Crossing the Forth at the ford of Frew, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, he advanced to Edinburgh, and, obtaining possession of that capital without opposition, took up his lodgings in the palace of Holyroodhouse. Upon the 21st of September, his followers attacked, near Musselburgh, a small army of royalists, commanded by Sir John Cope, and gave them a total overthrow. From this victory he reaped considerable advantages, as it not only tended to inspire his troops

troops with courage, but put them in possession of fire-arms and other military accoutrements, in which they were formerly ill provided. Had he been endowed with skill to improve this success, by marching directly to London, he had probably caused a dreadful convulsion throughout the kingdom, and made the throne itself to totter; but, by lingering several weeks about Edinburgh in a state of inaction, he gave government time to make vigorous preparations in their own defence. In the beginning of November, he began his march for England; and, upon his arrival at Carlisle, invested the garrison of that town, which was soon forced to surrender. From thence, pursuing his march southward, and proclaiming his father as sovereign, in every town through which he passed, he arrived at the town of Derby, within an hundred miles of London. There making a pause, and, beginning to reflect upon the state of his affairs, he found that he had been disappointed in his expectations of being joined by his English friends, and that his present circumstances rendered a speedy retreat into Scotland absolutely

solutely necessary ; which he effected by rapid marches, and with no considerable loss, though different bodies of royal troops waited to intercept his return, and often harraased his rear. After fording the river Esk, much swollen by the winter rains, in which several of his men were drowned, he came to Dumfries; and, upon the 25th December, just three weeks after he had left Derby, arrived at Glasgow. As this last town had always discovered much disaffection to his family, he expressed his resentment by exacting heavy contributions from the inhabitants. After a few days stay at Glasgow, he marched with his army towards Stirling, in order to invest the castle, the possession of which hath, in all ages, been deemed of great importance to those who sought to be masters of Scotland. He lodged the first night at Kilsyth, where Mr Campbell of Shawfield's steward was ordered to provide entertainment for him and his followers, and promised payment; but the Chevalier adopted a singular method of discharging that debt. The steward was told, next morning, that the bill should be allowed to his master, at accounting

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ing for the rents of Kilsyth *; that estate having been forfeited in 1715, for the adherence of the last owner to the interest of the Chevalier's family. Next day, setting out northward, he took up his lodgings in the house of Bannockburn, and his followers soon obtained entrance into the town of Stirling, the defence of which the inhabitants did not think prudent to attempt. Being there joined by a considerable reinforcement from the north, his army began to invest the castle, commanded by General Blackney, after having summoned the garrison to surrender without effect. But, being little accustomed to operations of that kind, they made very slow progress; erecting one battery upon the Gowan-hill, and another between the church and Marr's work, they essayed to besiege it in form; but their guns were soon dismounted, and their works demolished.

While the army of the Chevalier lay in the neighbourhood of Stirling, two sloops of war were sent up the river Forth, to take a station between Airth and Alloa, in order to cut

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* Scots Magazine, 1746.

off their communication, and intercept the transportation of their cannon at these places. The rebels erected a battery, consisting of three four pounders, upon the hill of Airth, to play upon these sloops, but without doing them any damage. They at the same time seized a brig at Airth, in order to convey over their cannon from Alloa; upon which, boats were sent out from the sloops to burn the brig, and the other vessels in Airth harbour, lest they should likewise fall into their hands, which was effected without any loss, though, in the mean time, the rebels kept up a constant fire from their battery, and also with small arms. Next they removed the battery to Elphinstone, to cover the passage of their cannon. This work was also attacked by the sloops, who were not able, however, by some accidents that befel them, to demolish it, but were obliged to retreat, though not without having greatly disconcerted the designs of the enemy *.

In the mean time, Lieutenant General Hawly having assembled a well disciplined, though not numerous army, in the neighbourhood

* Ibid.

bourhood of Edinburgh, marched to the relief of Stirling castle. Upon his arrival at Falkirk, he encamped on the north of the town, upon the borders of that field where the bloody battle, mentioned in a former section, was fought between the English and Scots, in the days of Sir William Wallace. Here he halted a day or two, in order to refresh his men, and obtain intelligence, intending to set out very soon in quest of Charles and his followers, of whom he had conceived so low an opinion, as to boast, that, with two regiments of dragoons, he could drive them from one end of the kingdom to the other. These adventurers, however, were not so greatly intimidated by his approach as he had imagined; for, instead of waiting till they were attacked, they formed a plan of making an assault upon the royalists in their camp, which they very nearly executed upon the 17th of January. Marching, with great expedition, from the place of their rendezvous at Bannockburn, they advanced to the river Carron, which they were crossing at Dunipace, within two miles of Falkirk, before
their

their motions were perceived. In order too to conceal their design, their standard, which was distinctly seen from the camp at Falkirk, was left standing in the same place where it had been observed the day before; and, at the same time, a small party appeared upon the north side of Carron, opposite to the camp, with a view to draw the attention of the royalists to that part, whilst the main body was fetching a compass to come upon them from the south.

The royal army, not entertaining the smallest suspicion of a surprise from an enemy, which they rather contemned than deemed formidable, lodged secure in their camp. The soldiers were preparing dinner, and General Hawly had gone, upon invitation, to dine at Callender-house, with lady Kilmarnock, whose lord had a military command in the army of Charles, and who herself was a strenuous abettor of that cause. It was surmised too, that the invitation of the General to dinner, upon that day, was a premeditated stratagem, concerted betwixt her ladyship and the chiefs of the rebel army.

About

About mid-day, the alarm was given in the royal camp, that the enemy was advancing, and so near as to have exchanged pistols with some of the out centinels, who were stationed at Caermuir. The drums immediately beat to arms, and dispatches were sent off to the General, who could scarcely be prevailed upon to believe the report, till he perceived the rebels in three columns, marching with great celerity to take possession of a hill upon the south of Falkirk. The royalists first formed in the front of their camp, but were immediately set in motion, in order to ascend the hill, whither the rebels appeared to be bending their march.

In the mean time, the enemy had taken post upon the summit of the hill, where they stood in order of battle, in two lines, with a *corps de reserve* a little behind. Their right was commanded by Lord George Murray, and the left by Lord John Drummond. The friends of Charles gave out, that he took his station in the front of the lines, and not only gave the signal to fire, by waving his cap, but continued, during the whole of the engagement, to issue
out

out orders with great presence of mind, and military skill. But, whatever degree of courage that young adventurer might be possessed of, yet prudence did not allow him to expose himself in a place of so imminent danger. Instead of being in the front of the battle, he took his station upon a rising ground, in the neighbourhood of Rough-castle, half a mile behind his army.

The royalists forming, as they arrived upon the hill, were drawn up in two lines, parallel to those of the enemy, but could not extend their front so far southward as that of the rebels, on account of a morass which lay in those parts. The dragoons were placed upon the left, and the foot upon the top of the eminence and upon its northern declivity, in such a situation, that the convexity of the hill hindered the one wing from seeing what was transacting upon the other. The left was commanded by Lieutenant General Hawly, and the right by Major General Husk. The artillery was not brought up in time to be used, upon account of the deep and broken roads. A regiment of militia from Glasgow was stationed as a *corps de reserve* behind the
army;

army; and the Argyleshire Highlanders, with Howard's regiment, were placed, for the same purpose, at a small distance upon the right. The field, which was the stage of the rencounter, lies about an English mile south-west of the town of Falkirk, and due south from Bantaskine, where the magnificent aqueduct-bridge, to convey the canal over the public road, is now erected.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, when the armies stood within an hundred yards of one another, the dragoons were ordered to advance, and attack the rebels sword in hand; but, being warmly received, several companies of them, after one discharge, galloped off with so great precipitation, that they had passed the bridge of Linlithgow, five miles from Falkirk, before the noise of the firing ceased in the field of battle *. Their flight disordered the foot who were near them, and exposed the left wing of the royalists, naked and defenceless, to the broad swords of the Highlanders, who immediately flanked them; upon this, the
left

* Many circumstances, mentioned in this section, are taken from the information of sundry persons of discernment and veracity, who were eye-witnesses of the transactions.

left wing intirely gave way. During the action too, a violent tempest of wind and rain, arising from the south-west, blew so full in the faces of the royalists, as greatly embarrassed their motions, not only disturbing their eye-sight, but wetting their powder, so as to render many of their fire-arms of no use, while the rebels, having the storm in their backs, were not much incommoded by it.

By these means the royalists, being thrown into great confusion, were upon the point of being intirely routed; but two regiments, viz. Barrel's and Ligonier's, rallied by Brigadier Cholmondely, together with some scattered batallions collected by Brigadier Mordaunt, made a stand, and, by a brisk fire, greatly checked the ardour of the rebels, who, upon their arrival at the summit of the hill, were still more disconcerted at the sight of General Husk, standing upon the lower grounds, in the best order, to receive them, which he did with so violent a fire, as caused dreadful execution among them. These manœuvres much altered the face of affairs, and so intimidated the followers

lowers of Charles, that they not only ceased to advance, but great numbers betook themselves to flight. Upon the whole, the royal army made a decent retreat to Falkirk; but, as the tents were all wet, and their lodging in the camp might have exposed them to an attack from the enemy in the dark, it was found prudent, that the whole army should march to Linlithgow for shelter, which they did, after burning what of their tents and baggage could not be carried off, and next day they set forward to Edinburgh.

It was commonly reported at that time, that a plan was formed, by some of the rebel chiefs, to march with great expedition by the south-side of Callander wood, in order either to attack the royalists upon their march, or intercept their passage over the water of Avon, at the bridge of Linlithgow; but the motion was over-ruled, as others were of opinion, that the royal troops, many of whom had lately given signal proofs of their bravery in Flanders, were rather disconcerted than defeated, and perhaps had retreated with an intention to

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draw

draw their enemy into a snare. The truth is, the behaviour of so many of the royal troops upon this occasion, was never ascribed, by the candid of either side, to want of courage or military skill. The sudden alarm in the camp, the rapidity of their march to the field, the violent storm which blew in their faces, their being unaccustomed to the method of attack practised by the Highlanders; all these circumstances appear to have concurred in raising a general panic, from which they could not instantly recover themselves. Upon the morrow, some of the officers, reflecting upon the scenes of yesterday, were obliged to own, with much good humour, that it was a very comical affair. It was asserted too, that, in the hurry of the march to the field, it had been neglected to inform the several battalions in what order and succession they were to give their fire; or, in the military stile, they had not been told off.

During the engagement, a few pieces of artillery had been brought up to the field; but, upon the owners of the draught horses
running

running off, when they saw the army in disorder, they all fell into the hands of the enemy, except one piece, which the grenadiers of Barrel's regiment dragged along with them in their retreat, and two others, which horses were found to carry away.

Amongst those who signalized themselves upon that occasion, was the Glasgow regiment of militia, who, with much bravery, maintained the station assigned them for some time, though not without sustaining great loss.

We had almost forgotten to mention, that, according to common report, the army had received orders to retreat, before the renewal of the action by general Husk; and the breach of order, of which he was guilty in this instance, was sufficient, according to the strictness of military discipline, to have rendered him liable to censure; but his conduct was vindicated from the present necessity of the measure, and the important service performed by it.

The number of the royalists, in this action, amounted to about six thousand; that of the rebels, though not exactly ascertained, was

was somewhat greater. The loss of the former did not exceed three hundred, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. Amongst the slain were, Sir Robert Monro of Foulis, Colonel Whitney, and Lieutenant Colonels Powal and Biggar. The manner in which Sir Robert Monro was slain was peculiarly affecting. His regiment, which was stationed in the second line upon the left wing, being greatly disordered and retreating, left him, with a few other officers, exposed to the fury of the enemy, who immediately attacked them. He defended himself with his half pike, against six of the assailants, two of whom he killed; but a seventh coming up, poured a shot into his belly, which brought him immediately to the ground. His body was found next day stripped naked, and with the face so cut and mangled, that it could scarce be known. It was honourably buried in the church-yard of Falkirk by the M'Donalds, who, though engaged in the rebellion, could not but pay a testimony of public regard to the memory of so brave a man*. His friends afterwards

* Doddridge's memoirs of the Monro's.

wards erected upon his grave a stately square pillar of hewn stone, with much fine carving, and the following inscription on it.

Conditur heic quod poterat mori
 Roberti Monro de Foulis Eq. Bar.
 Gentis suæ principis,
 Militum tribuni,
 Vita in castris curiaque Britannica
 Honestè producta,
 Pro libertate religioneque patriæ
 In acie honestissime defuncti,
 Prope Falkirk Jan. XVII. MDCCXLVI, Æt. LXII.
 Virtutis consiliique fama,
 In montanorum cohortis præfectura,
 Quamdiu prælium Fontenæum memorabitur
 Perduraturi,
 Ob amicitiam et fidem amicis,
 Humanitatem clementiamque adversariis,
 Benevolentiam, bonitatemque omnibus,
 Trucidantibus etiam,
 In perpetuum desiderandi,

Doctor Duncan Monro, who had accompanied his brother from pure fraternal affection, was also slain, and buried in the same grave; to his memory the following inscription is placed upon the pillar.

Duncanus

Duncanus Monro de Obfsdale, M. D. Æt. 59.

Frater-Fratrem linquere fugiens,
Saucium curans, ictus inermis,
Commoriens cohonestat Urnam.

The loss of the rebels was reckoned to have been considerably greater than that of the royalists; for, though they kept possession of the field, they suffered heavily from the fire of the regiments which rallied upon them in the retreat.

Charles and his followers were greatly elated with this success. Having brought a printing press from Glasgow, he ordered it to be erected at Bannockburn, where he published his Gazette. He likewise sent pompous and exaggerated accounts of the advantage he had gained, to the Kings of France and Spain, the Pope, and other powers in alliance with his family. On the other hand, this event deeply affected the minds of all who wished well to the protestant succession in the illustrious house of Hanover. Since that time, however, speculative reasoners have been of opinion, that it rather turned out to the advantage of Scotland; for, as the court, and the bulk
of

of the people in England, looked upon the whole Scottish nation as in a state of rebellion, a victory obtained by the army, before they were undeceived, might have led them to sacrifice to their undistinguishing resentment, many of the true friends of government. It hath also been reckoned a fortunate circumstance, that the Duke of Cumberland had occasion to march through so great a part of Scotland before he came up with the rebels, as, by that means, he had an opportunity of learning, that the rebellion was far from being general, and that those engaged in it were but an handful, in comparison of the well affected, and truly loyal.

The day after the battle, the Pretender marched back with his army to Stirling, and reassumed the siege of the castle. After having in vain summoned the garrison again to surrender, two new batteries were erected, one upon the Gowan-hill, upon the north, and the other upon the Lady-hill, on the south, but without making any impression upon the fortifications; for the guns being soon dismounted by the shot
from

from the castle, they were forced to relinquish the enterprize.

When the news of the battle reached London, the government found it necessary to form a more vigorous plan of defence against an enemy, who now appeared more formidable than ever. Though General Hawly had found means to vindicate himself to the satisfaction of his sovereign, yet his conduct, upon this occasion, had not only exposed him to much public censure, but had, in a great measure, alienated the affections of the army from him. It was therefore judged necessary, that the command should be intrusted to a General, in whom the soldiers could place entire confidence. The Duke of Cumberland was chosen for that purpose. The love which the army bore to him was well known; and, moreover, it was suggested, that a Prince of the reigning family appearing in Scotland, might have a happy effect upon the minds of people in that kingdom.

Accordingly, setting out for this northern expedition, that Prince arrived at Edinburgh, and put himself at the head of the

the army; which having been reinforced with four troops of Lord Mark Ker's dragoons, and two battalions of foot, amounted in whole to fourteen battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and a body of loyal Highlanders, under the command of Colonel Campbell, now Duke of Argyle. Upon the last day of January, his Royal Highness began his march from Edinburgh, and arrived at Linlithgow in the evening, setting out next day by Falkirk to Stirling. He was informed, upon his march, that the rebels intended to make a stand, in order to give him battle; but he soon received more certain intelligence, that they had crossed the Forth with great precipitation, and were retiring northward. When the royal army was marching out of Linlithgow, they heard the noise of a great report from the neighbourhood of Stirling; this was instantly conjectured to be the blowing up of the rebels magazine, which it really proved to be. For, finding they could not easily carry off their powder, which was lodged in the church of St Ninian's, they set fire to it; by which means that church was blown up,

H h h

and

and ten of the inhabitants of the village lost their lives, besides three or four of the Highlanders who were employed in setting fire to the magazine. The steeple, though adjoining to the church, remained untouched by the explosion, and still continues to stand in the same spot. But the new church hath been built a little to the eastward of the old. Several inhabitants of the village were also much hurt. The deliverance of one man was most singular, who, though he was blown, by the force of the explosion, upwards of two hundred yards from the church, yet received no damage.

The Duke of Cumberland, after lodging a night at Stirling, set out in pursuit of the rebels, and coming up with them at Col-loden, near Inverness, upon the 16th April, obtained a compleat victory, which put an end to the commotions that had been raised by this rebellion. After the total defeat and dispersion of his army, Charles wandered five months upon the western coast, and in the adjoining islands, where he was often reduced to the greatest extremities of distress and danger. His wanderings, hardships,
and

and dangers, were, perhaps, not much inferior to those of Ulysses, in his return from the siege of Troy, if there had been an Homer amongst his friends to celebrate them. At last, a vessel, hired by his friends, arrived from France, in which he embarked, and sailed for that kingdom.

S E C T. XVII.

The Natural History of the Shire.

THE shire of Stirling is bounded upon the east by the Frith of Forth, which terminates upon its confines; upon the south, by the shires of Linlithgow, Lanark, and Dumbarton; from which it is generally separated by rivers or brooks. Upon the west, it is bounded by Lochlomond; and upon the north by the river of Forth, which separates it from the shires of Perth and Clackmannan; only a small tract, upon the
north

north of that river, containing the parish of Alva, with a part of that of Logie, is bounded by the Ochil mountains. Its greatest length, from the bridge of Linlithgow, to the extremities of the parish of Drymen, is near thirty miles; and its greatest breadth, from Alva, to the southern parts of Slamanon, about fourteen. In other parts, its breadth seldom exceeds eight or nine miles.

The face of the country presents to the eye of a traveller, a beautiful mixture of hills and vallies; the former covered with verdant pasture, the latter generally yielding rich productions of every sort of grain. A tract so extensive cannot but contain soils greatly diversified, and of very opposite qualities. To convey some idea of which, it is judged not improper to divide the whole into four different heads, viz. the Carfes, the Straths, the Hills, the Muirs.

The C A R S E S.

Champaign tracts of land, situated upon navigable rivers, in which the tide flows, are called *Carfes* in Scotland. That of
Stirling-

Stirlingshire extends along the banks of Forth, from the mouth of the river Avon, upon the borders of Linlithgowshire, to the Frew, upon the confines of Monteith, a course of about fifteen miles in length, and the breadth, at a medium, is generally about two miles. This tract is allowed to be one of the richest spots in the whole island of Britain. The soil is composed of a strong till or clay, which, when properly cultivated, yields very plentiful crops of grain, such as wheat, barley, oats, pease, and beans, and these of the best quality.

It is an opinion generally adopted, that, in ancient times, this whole tract was covered by the waters of the neighbouring Frith, which, by some unknown revolution, hath contracted its channel. Beds of oysters, and shells of every kind, are found within a few feet of the surface. These, however, are not always certain indications of the land having made a part of the ocean, since they have often been found in places the most distant from the sea, in the very bowels of the earth, and on tops of mountains. These are phaenomena, which, in innumerable

rable instances, philosophy cannot, with any degree of satisfaction, account for, without admitting the truth of the information conveyed by the sacred scriptures, concerning the universal deluge, which the Supreme Being brought upon the earth, in the days of Noah, to destroy the wicked inhabitants thereof.

Nevertheless, the discovery of different sorts of shells, and other relicts of the sea, in greater abundance than is to be met with in other places, together with the low situation, which is generally but a few feet above the level of the water, and which, in many parts, would still be covered in high tides, if it was not protected from the rage of that fluid by dikes or mounds, raised by human industry, afford a high degree of probability, that the tract we are surveying had been overflowed in ages much later than the universal deluge, and that the ocean hath there lost a part of its ancient possessions.

It is certain, that, by the revolutions of that element, dry land hath been lost in one quarter of the globe and gained in another.

Earth

Earth and sea appear to wage a reciprocal war, and have at sundry times obtained local victories over each other. Banks of sand at present cover cities, which were once celebrated sea-ports; and cities now lift their spires to the skies, upon shores once covered with the waves. Upon the retreat of the fluid from those parts, it must have expanded on some other shore; for, philosophy instructs us, that the vast waters of the ocean are necessary to preserve the equilibrium of the globe, and, therefore, can admit of no great addition or diminution; hence, when they retire from one shore, they must necessarily incroach upon another.

At what time the retreat of the waters from those parts took place, cannot be determined. That the Frith hath not much contracted its dimensions, since the invasion of Scotland by the Romans, is evident from the following circumstances. Remains of the military causeway, laid by that people, are still to be seen near Stirling, in a situation only a few feet above the reach of the stream tides at present; and a mile below
that

that town, at Manour, upon the banks of the Forth, the vestiges of a Roman camp were a few years ago plainly discernible.

Whether the retreat of the fluid was gradual or instantaneous, is equally uncertain. The elderly inhabitants upon the confines of the Frith affirm, that the clay shores, or fleeks, upon its western termination, are at present perceptibly higher, and not so frequently overflowed by the tide, as they were in their younger years. This gives countenance to the supposition of a gradual recess; though it is highly probable, that, in some ancient period, the retreat of the water was much more quick and perceptible, than it has been for many ages past; for no ground hath been gained, by that means, in the memory of the oldest people now alive.

Those lands, after they had emerged from the waves, were, no doubt, for a long time, no better than a marsh, till they were drained, and converted into arable fields, by human industry; till ditches were made, and the soft and watery soil was consolidated, by
being

being stirred up, and exposed to the rays of the sun.

At what time the cultivation of those lands began, is beyond record. When Scotland was in its natural state, the vallies were covered with woods or marshes, and the first essays of agriculture were made upon the hills; on the summit of many of which, the marks of the plow are still discernible. It is certain the Carfes had been in a state of cultivation, and likewise a subject of mensuration, in the beginning of the twelfth century; for, at that time, sundry parcels of them were granted by King David I. to the monasteries of Cambuskenneth and Holyroodhouse; and the quantity of those donations is often ascertained. In the fourteenth century, they were in an advanced state of improvement, insomuch that the yearly feu-duty paid to the crown out of the small parish of Bothkennar, was no less than twenty-six chalders of victual, besides six chalders paid to the abbacy of Cambuskenneth.

The most proper meliorations for the soil, which is naturally cold and stiff, are

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lime,

lime, ashes, and such other kinds of manure, as tend to pulverise the clay, and, by keeping it open, give the fibres of the grain room to expand. The least smatterer in agriculture too, will easily perceive the advantages which that sort of soil must derive from summer fallowing; for, being naturally of a compact and solid texture, the parts will remain cold, and without action, if they are not sometimes so separated and stirred up, as to receive the impressions of the sun and atmosphere; these, together with proper cultivation, and care to keep the ridges as dry as possible, appear to be the only substantial improvements that can be made upon it.

Notwithstanding the fertility of the soil, the Carfes have their peculiar disadvantages. The air is naturally damp, and the water, by running upon clay, contracts a hard quality, which renders it not only disagreeable to a discerning palate, but unfit for washing, and fundry other domestic purposes. The local diseases, which are common to this, with other low and moist situations, such as agues and rheums, no doubt proceed,

proceed, in a great measure, from these causes. To counterbalance, however, the dampness of the air, the place is surrounded with rich fields of coal, at no great distance. So that we may safely affirm, that the ill natured proverb, which Doctor Pen-
nant mentions concerning the Carse of Gow-
rie, cannot, in its full latitude, be applied to
this, viz. ‘that it wants water all the sum-
‘mer, fire all the winter, and the grace of
‘God all the year round.’

The bad quality of the water might also, in a good degree, be corrected by boiling it, and suffering it to cool again before it is used, and by mingling pot-ashes with it, for the purpose of washing. There are few or no peculiar customs observed in the Carfes; only, in the eastern parts, the quantities of land are ordinarily computed by ox-gangs, each of which contains thirteen acres. This appears to have been the ancient method of computation in many other parts of Scot-
land.

S T R A T H S.

Those level tracts of land, which lie a-
long the banks of fresh rivers, at a distance
from

from the sea, commonly go by the name of Straths; and, for the most part, take their names from the rivers by which they are watered. The Straths of this shire lie in the western parts of it. Those upon the rivers Blane, Kelvin, and Enrick, are the most considerable. Those grounds are generally of a strong and loamy soil, and, in many parts, nothing inferior in fertility to the Carfes, producing excellent crops of grain, especially wheat, barley, and oats.

H I L L S.

A range of hills occupies the mid-land parts of the shire; the chief of which are those of Campsie and Kilfyth, and, to the northward of these, those of Dundaff and Gargunnock. Upon a hill near Campsie is a beautiful cascade, called the *Spout of Ballagan*, where a stream pours itself over a high precipice. None of those hills are remarkable for height; but all of them afford excellent pasture for sheep and black cattle, with which they are plentifully covered, and the beef and mutton fed upon them

them is reckoned exceeding good. The most conspicuous is that called the *Meikle-Ben*, from which issue the rivers Carron and Enrick, taking their courses to two opposite seas.

M U I R S.

Those parts of the shire, which lie southward of Falkirk, are generally of bleak and muirish soil, and have been originally covered with heath and bent, besides several large mosses, which still remain. Much of them are now converted into arable land, and are in many places not unfertile. The memory of their ancient state still continues to be preserved in their names, such as Slamannan-muir, Muiraven-side, and the muir of Falkirk.

A I R.

There is nothing peculiar in the air of this tract, to distinguish it from that of the neighbouring shires. The heaviest storms generally come from the south-west, which
holds

holds in most other parts of Britain ; the impression made by them being very discernible upon the mountains, which are generally swept bare towards the quarter, and in the trees, whose branches naturally turn about from the west, and expand eastward. The eastern parts of the shire are warmer than the middle and western, owing, no doubt, to their lower situation, whereby they enjoy an air less rarified than in higher places, and, perhaps also, in some parts, to the shelter of the Ochel-hills, which not only serve as a barrier against the northern blasts, but likewise reverberate the sun-beams. In the Carfes, the snow is seldom so deep, nor doth it ordinarily lie so long as in places around them. This cannot be ascribed to any natural warmth in the soil, for clay is of a very cold quality, but, besides the causes already mentioned, to the breezes from the Frith. In the months of April and May, easterly winds, commonly called *Haars*, usually blow with great violence, especially in the afternoons, and coming up the narrow Frith, are exceedingly penetrating, and seldom

seldom fail to spread agues, rheums, and other local distempers along the coast.

RIVERS.

Though we cannot look for any considerable river in a tract situated upon so narrow an isthmus as that between the Friths of Forth and Clyde; yet the Forth, which waters the northren borders of the shire under our survey, is one of the most stately rivers in Scotland. Taking its rise near Callendar in Menteith, it, in a short time, arrives upon the limits of the shire and rolls eastward, through a large and fertile plain, receiving, in its course, many tributary streams from the neighbouring mountains, till it reaches the town of Stirling, where it is met by the tide. From thence it proceeds, in many circling meanders, and winding in its channel, till it unites with the Frith of the same name upon the east end of the shire. Its numerous windings, called links, form a great number of beautiful peninsula's, which, being
of

of a very luxuriant and fertile soil, gave rise to the following old rhyme.

The Lairdship of the boney links of Forth
Is better than an Earldom in the North.

The river is navigable by small craft as far as the town of Stirling, though these windings render the navigation both cumbersome and tedious. It abounds with great store of salmon, which are not only sufficient to supply the neighbouring towns and country, but are carried to distant markets. Large quantities of coal are also exported, by means of it, to London and other places, from the frequent coal mines in the neighbourhood.

The next considerable river is Carron, of which some account hath been given in a former section. It rises near the middle of the isthmus, and running eastward, by Dunipace and Larbert, meets the tide at Stenhouse; from thence it proceeds in its course through the Carse of Falkirk, till it falls in with the river Forth, and both pour their united streams at once into the Frith.

Near

Near its mouth were formerly many windings, but of late its course hath been straightened, and much shortened, for the convenience of trade. The river Enrick hath likewise its rise in the middle of the isthmus, but takes a course directly opposite to that of Carron, running westward through the midst of the shire, forming fundry beautiful cascades in its passage over precipices, and fetching several large circuits through a well cultivated and populous country; till, after having mingled with the river Blane, it loses itself in the great lake of Lochlomond. Kelvin and Blane, which serve as boundaries to the shire in different parts of it, are also beautiful rivers, and abound with trout. Near to Stirling runs the small brook of Bannockburn, famous, in the annals of Europe, for the signal defeat of the English upon its banks by King Robert Bruce. This brook is said to have derived its name from a custom of old, much practised in Scotland, viz. that of toasting their bread under ashes; the cakes so prepared were called *bannocks*, and fundry milns having been

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early

early erected upon that stream to grind the grain, of which that bread was composed, gave rise to the name *. This custom was probably derived from the *panis cineritius* of the Romans, as to that people the Britons were indebted not only for the culture of grain, but the dressing of it for human use.

L A K E S.

The lakes of this shire are but few; the chief is that grand collection of waters upon the west, called Lochlomond, famous for its fishes and islands, which are taken notice of by every geographer. There are also sundry small lakes in different parts of the shire. Upon the southern confines of it, near Slamannan, lies the loch of Fanny-side, noted for the fine sand upon its shores; and, not far to the eastward of it, appears the Black-loch, which abounds with perches, and receives its name from its situation in the midst of mosses. Amongst

* Majoris historia.

mongst the hills, near Dundaff, lies Loch-Coulter, a small lake of about a mile in circuit. In this lake stands a large stone, which, according to the report of the neighbourhood, had its situation near the middle of the water, till about the time of the great earthquake at Lisbon in 1755, when, by some violent convulsion, it was forced from its former bed, and hurled nearer the shore. What degree of credit is due to this report, we do not ascertain; but certain it is, that, three years after, between the hollow in the bottom of the lake, which was pointed out as having been the former bed of the stone, and the place where it now lies, there were plain traces of a path of the same breadth with the stone, and also a heap of channel upon the outside of it, which seemed to have been forced before it with its motion. A violent agitation of the waters was at the time of that earthquake, sensibly perceived in many lakes in the highlands.

FORESTS.

F O R E S T S.

The face of this country, and indeed of the greatest part of Scotland, presents us with the most uncontrovertable evidences of its having been formerly covered with wood. The mosses contain large logs of timber, especially oak and fir; the former is often dug up quite fresh, having been preserved, as is supposed, by the waters being impregnated with the turpentine proceeding from the latter. Stumps of trees too are every where to be met with upon the surface; the Caledonian forest probably extended its wings so far southward. That forest was famous in antiquity, for being the harbour of wild boars, though no such animals have now for many ages been seen in Scotland, at least in the lowlands. Many banks of natural timber still remain in every corner of the shire, the chief of which are those of Callander and Torwood, the last of which was formerly a royal forest. Mention is likewise made, in ancient records, of the forest of Stirling, which stood in the neighbourhood of that town, and of
that

that of Dundaff, which was also royal. Oak, Elm, Ash, and Beech are the common trees in the woods which remain, and also in the inclosures which surround dwelling houses. In the Carfes, faughs or willows, which delight in a moist situation, often grow to a large size, and are much used in the erection of milns.

METALS AND MINERALS.

A rich bed of silver was discovered above sixty years ago, in the Ochel-hills, near Alva. It lay very near the surface, and was found by accident, as the miners were searching for cobalt. It fell to Sir John Erskine, proprietor of Alva, who had also a tack of the mines of that estate, and might have considerably raised his fortune; but, expecting that this new source of wealth was to continue to pour out its streams upon him, he dissipated it in romantic projects. A bit of the ore having been carried to London, and shewn to King George I. he was of opinion, that it was five hundred years too young. Naturalists, indeed, affirm,

firm, that metals ripen in their beds, and have their periods of maturity like animals and vegetables, and George was a great connoisseur in metallurgy, having the property of fundry valuable mines in Hanover. Yet political reasons were supposed to have strongly influenced his Majesty in that verdict.

Sir John Erskine continued to search for more of this treasure, but without success. And a company of adventurers, of late, have expended considerable sums upon the mines of Alva and Airthry; but have not yet discovered silver. There is no doubt, however, that these mountains conceal in their bosoms, veins of various metals. Lead ore, and pieces of other metals have been found in fundry parts of them, washed down by the floods. It is a common observation, that those parts of the earth, which are most barren upon the surface, probably conceal great store of riches in their bowels.

This shire produces great plenty of iron-ore, which is found both in mines, and in stones lying upon the surface. This is a species of riches, which was unknown till
of

of late ; but, since the erection of the great iron-work at Carron, it hath turned to a good account. The proprietors of the lands where it is found, have had the pleasure of seeing a more solid transmutation of metals than will probably be ever effected by the discovery of the philosopher's stone. It hath enhanced the value of their estates ; hence, in advertisements of the sale of lands, when they contain iron-stone, it never fails to be set off in the most pompous manner.

The eastern parts of the shire contain many rich mines of coal, which are not only sufficient to supply the neighbouring country and villages, but are exported to other parts, and that with great ease, by reason of their vicinity to the navigable rivers Forth and Carron. The Carron company having occasion for vast quantities to supply their furnaces, have leases of several of these coal mines, from which the proprietors of them derive very considerable advantages.

There are likewise quarries of lime-stone in the shire, and, probably, many more may afterwards be discovered. Free stone is in
great

great abundance; hence the ancient fabricks about the town of Stirling, and in other parts of the shire, and also the modern dwellings, have been constructed with greater ease, than they could be in places where there is a natural scarcity of materials. Except in the Carfes, springs of pure water are frequent, and many of them have the taste of different minerals, through which they have passed, though none have as yet been discovered which have obtained any reputation for their medicinal virtues.

A N I M A L S.

The animals differ nothing from those of the neighbouring shires. The sheep, which feed upon the hills, produce good wool, and their mutton is nothing inferior to that bred in any other part of Scotland. The black cattle are generally of an ordinary size. The breed of horses hath been considerably improved of late; and numbers of them fit for the draught, are every year reared up in all parts of the shire. The rivers produce no peculiar fishes,
but

but those that are common abound in all the rivers. Small whales have sometimes wandered up the Frith, and been cast ashore on the coast.

It is, however, generally asserted, that there hath, of late years, been a sensible decline of the salmon-fishing in the rivers. This may, in some degree, be attributed to the increase of shipping upon those that are navigable; as fishes generally delight in quiet waters, and unfrequented shores. But other more powerful causes can be assigned for this decrease. Particles of lime washed down from the arable lands, the ashes and other refuse of bleachfields and tan-works, the poisonous stuffs of dying-houses, and other articles used in manufactures, these, together with the watering of lint in running brooks, mingling with the streams, have banished, and, it is likely, destroyed great numbers of the inhabitants of the liquid regions, who delight in the pure element, and are hurt by its mixture with extraneous substances. According to this hypothesis, the progress of agriculture and manufactures is the destruction of fishes,

and the improvements of art tend to the diminution of certain natural productions *.

P R O D U C T I O N S.

The soil, in general, when properly cultivated, produces different grains of a very good quality, such as wheat, rye, barley, oats, pease, and beans. The Carfes are remarkable for the last, which agree best with a strong clay soil. The crops of clover-grass are also very rich in ordinary seasons, in the lower parts; but seldom come to any great account in high situations, where the cold probably kills the seed. A good deal of flax is likewise raised in different parts of the shire, for which premiums have

* The same observation may be made concerning several kinds of birds, which the improvements of agriculture have, in a great measure, banished; as the Snipe, whom the draining of marshes has obliged to forsake her former habitations, and the Lapwing or Touchet, who hath an utter aversion to enclosures, and delights only in an open desert, at a distance from the dwellings and other works of men. The decrease of Hares, Partridges, and other game, so observable in cultivated shires, is no doubt to be ascribed, in a great measure, to the same cause, which hath deprived them of many of their lurking places, and disturbs them, during the time of breeding, in the spring.

have been obtained by several farmers, from the trustees for promoting manufactures.

POPULATION.

This shire, which contains above thirty thousand inhabitants, hath greatly increased in population, especially in the eastern parts, within these last fifteen or twenty years; fundry villages having been erected in spots, where there was scarce a single house before. This increase is chiefly owing to the various and extensive manufactures, and other works in that corner.

In the last century, a phaenomenon appeared in this shire, proceeding from the same causes, and similar, in many of its circumstances, to that which took place a few years ago at Solway moss, though not so destructive in its consequences. A part of a large moss, called *Lethem moss*, lying between the parishes of Larbert and Airth, was suddenly removed out of its place by the water, which had been pent up in its cavities, forcing a passage to itself, and carrying along with it, to a considerable distance,

so

so large a quantity of the flow, as covered near an acre of ground. The scattered fragments, that were thus pushed by the flood, are still to be seen at the bridge of Pow-house, at a great distance from the rest of the moss. The people in the neighbourhood mention the same observations, as having been made by their fore-fathers, which were made upon the eruption at Solway; as, that the moss at that time sensibly subsided, so that objects, before invisible to those that dwelt on opposite sides of it, began to appear; particularly, that the hill of Airth, which before was totally intercepted by the moss, from the sight of those who lived upon the west, became immediately obvious to their view.

A phaenomenon, however, lately appeared, which philosophy cannot so easily account for. In digging a coal mine at Kinaird, in a place where the ground had never been stirred before, a large piece of moss was discovered six or seven fathoms below the surface of the earth.

SECT.

S E C T. XVIII.

Commerce and Manufactures.

A Trade, far from being inconsiderable, both with foreign countries, and with different parts of Britain, is carried on in the eastern parts of this shire, by means of the navigable rivers, Forth and Carron. Alloa and Kincairdine, in the shire of Clackmannan, are places of considerable resort for shipping, and a few vessels of small burden proceed up the Forth as far as the town of Stirling. The village of Airth was formerly the chief centre of sea-trade in the shire we are surveying; but, during the course of the last fifteen or sixteen years, it hath been transferred to Carron shore, a small village, newly erected upon the river of that name. Nor does its settlement there promise to be of any long duration; for, it hath already begun to remove to the sea-lock,

lock, at the entry of the canal, which bids fair to be its great and lasting resort. The vessels employed in that trade are of no great burden, seldom exceeding two hundred tons, and generally below one hundred, as the river will not admit those of a greater burden. The goods which they export are chiefly coals from the neighbouring mines, the metal-manufactures of the Carron works, and such other commodities as are the productions of the country. They import grain from the Baltick, and different parts of England, or from the eastern and northern parts of Scotland, wood from Norway, iron stone, and other materials for the Carron works, or the use of the country. Foreign vessels of a considerable burden, likewise, enter the river at times, and unload their cargoes.

A shipping company was established, about twelve years ago, at Carron shore, for the purpose of carrying goods to and from London, for the merchants of Glasgow, and other towns in the west. For the convenience of that trade, the river hath been straightened, and much shortened, by cutting

ting off fundry of its links; and wharfs and ware-houses have been erected at great expence. The vessels built for this trade are so constructed, as to finish their voyages with an uncommon celerity; and, as the port at Carron shore is situated six miles nearer Glasgow than Borrowstowness, or any other port upon the Frith, they have had a good deal of employment. This branch, however, appears to be on the decline, owing, amongst other causes, to the establishment of a more commodious port at the entry of the canal.

Internal trade is carried on by retail; and the number of cloth and grocery shops in Stirling, Falkirk, and every village of the shire, is so great, as shows, that the demand for these articles is very considerable; as, no doubt, it must be, in a country so populous, and replenished with so many public works, which give employment to great numbers of persons, and afford them reasonable and regularly paid wages.

Fairs are frequent both in Stirling and Falkirk, at which, much country business is transacted. At Stirling, a weekly market

ket is held upon Friday, and that at Falkirk upon Thursday, is well known, on account of the great quantities of grain, which are there exposed to sale, especially pease and beans, the growth of the neighbouring Carles, which being exposed in sacks upon the open street, through the want of a commodious market place, are bought up, not only by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, but by merchants from distant places, especially in seed time.

Under the article of commerce, we must not omit the three great markets for black cattle, called *Trysts*, which are yearly held in the neighbourhood of Falkirk, in the months of August, September, and October. From time immemorial, the Highlands of Scotland, which in few places are capable of culture, have produced great quantities of cattle; these, though of a small size, when fattened upon richer pastures, are reckoned superior to English beef. By transporting them into England, large sums of money were brought back in return, insomuch that, before the establishment of manufactures, this was almost the only branch of
trade

trade which conveyed specie into the country. After the union, the Scots had still greater advantages for carrying on this article of commerce; and, in order to settle a regular method of transacting it, the dealers of both kingdoms agreed to fix certain convenient places, where, at proper seasons, they should meet for the purposes of buying and selling the cattle. A large muir, called *Redding-ridge*, a mile southward of Falkirk, was pitched upon for that purpose. This continued to be the place where these stated markets were held, till a few years ago, when, on account of the division of that muir, which was formerly a common, they have been removed to another muir westward of that town. At one of these trysts, which usually last two days, sometimes above fifty thousand head of cattle have been assembled, and all sold off. So great a number afforded a sight agreeable enough; and the large concourse of people, for whose accommodation tents were erected in the muir, rendered it the greatest market in Britain. This trade, however, appears not to be carried on at present to so great extent as formerly.

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merly. Not so many cattle are transported to England, owing, without doubt, to the increase of manufacturers in Scotland, whose demands for butcher-meat tend to lessen that exportation. At Stirling, too, in the month of November, another of those tryfts was formerly held; but of late, the drovers have relinquished that station, on account of the inclosures, which now every where surround the town, and assemble with their cattle at Down, in Menteith, where they have more room, and are likewise exempted from sundry tolls and customs, which they were obliged to pay at the former place. These markets, though their commodities are not the produce of the shire, are of advantage to the towns where they are held, on account of the great concourse of people which resort unto them.

Nor is this shire deficient in manufactures. Large quantities of linen yarn are spun in every corner of it, which is partly made into cloth at home, partly sold to the Glasgow and Paisley merchants. A good deal of wool is likewise manufactured in it. Carpets and shalloons, both of a very good quality,

quality, are made at Stirling, and blankets and serges at Alva. The weavers and dyers of the first named town are reckoned eminently skilled in their professions. Formerly, the village of Bannockburn, with sundry others in its neighbourhood, were noted, throughout all the kingdom, for producing great quantities of excellent tartan; but, through the late disuse of that kind of cloth, this trade hath declined, and many tradesmen, who wrought in it, have been obliged to betake themselves to other employments.

After the rebellion in 1745, the legislature prohibited the use of tartan in the drels of the Highlanders. Sundry salutary regulations, and friendly to the liberties of mankind, were enacted at that period; but the prohibition of a particular garb, worn from time immemorial, appears to have favoured not so much of sound policy, as of a capricious humour, which hath not only too frequently guided the determinations of courts, but hath at times insinuated itself into the wisest legislative assemblies.

Paper

Paper milns and bleachfields, of good reputation, are erected in fundry parts of the shire, as also tyle and brick works, with potteries for earthen vessels, and these not only for home consumption, but also for foreign export. The making of pitch and turpentine hath also been tried with success, though the distance from the market for such commodities rendered it necessary to discontinue that branch.

Under this article the iron manufacture at Carron, which is so great an ornament to Scotland, as well as to the shire we are surveying, naturally presents itself to our consideration.

The great plenty of iron ore, with which Scotland abounds, both in quarries, and in single stones lying upon the surface of the ground, suggested the idea of turning it to a good account, by establishing an iron manufacture in that nation. A company of spirited and enterprising merchants, partly English, and partly Scotsmen, concerted measures for carrying the project into execution. After having surveyed different corners of the country, in order to obtain
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an advantageous situation for such an establishment, they at last pitched on a spot upon the banks of the river Carron, three miles from its influx into the Frith of Forth. Several considerations determined them to give the preference to this situation; great quantities of iron ore appeared in the adjacent fields, which were also plentifully stored with rich mines of coal for working the metal; besides, the vicinity of the place to a navigable river, rendered it convenient, both for exporting their manufactures, and importing, from distant parts, such materials as they should stand in need of.

In the beginning of the year 1760, they began their operations, and, in a few years, though with great expence, said to have amounted to above one hundred thousand pounds Sterling, perfected the establishment, which hath ever since been carried on with spirit and success, to the no small emolument of the public, as well as the benefit of the proprietors. The appendages of this work, such as dams, canals, and reservoirs, extend several miles alongst the
banks

banks of the river ; and the high prices which the company paid for the grounds occupied by their works, tended much to the advantage of the former owners, as the leases which they have of the iron-stone quarries and coal-mines in the neighbourhood, bring no small profit to others.

The different branches of this work give daily employment to near two thousand people, who all have reasonable wages. Besides those who attend the furnaces, many are employed in coal mines, others in iron-stone quarries, and some in making charcoal in the woods ; and several thousand tons of shipping find constant business, either in exporting the manufactured goods, or in bringing home materials for the use of the work.

Two great furnaces, frightful to behold, are kept perpetually burning to melt the ore. These naturally bring to the remembrance of the classical reader, the description which Virgil hath given of the furnace of Vulcan ; only he will recollect, that the metal of Carron is not so precious as
that

that which boiled in the works of Mulci-ber.

Fluit æs rivis, aurique metallum:

Vulnificus chalybs vasta furnace liquefcit.

The ore undergoes fundry operations before it is moulded into the different utensils for which it is designed. It is first calcined in small furnaces, resembling those which are used for the burning of limestone. Next, it is thrown into the great furnaces, and, in order to give it the last degree of refinement, it is cast into lesser furnaces, from whence it is taken out liquid hot, in laddles with long handles, and poured into the moulds. An amazing quantity of pots, sugar-boilers, cylinders for coal-works, smoothing-irons, with other articles, too tedious to enumerate, are cast, both for home-consumption and exportation, besides a great number of cannon, both for ships and forts; mortars, and other warlike implements, not only for the use of the British government, but also for that of other powers. The large demand for these instruments

instruments affords no near prospect of a speedy termination to these reciprocal jealousies which the rulers of states and kingdoms have so long entertained of one another, and which have so often deluged the earth with blood. It occasions an unpleasant reflection to a benevolent mind, that one part of the human race should find their advantage in forging instruments to destroy another; and that the demand for the horrid engines of death, should often exceed that for the utensils of agriculture and domestic convenience.

We must not, however, omit to observe, that the skill of the artist hath lately been displayed in the improvements that have been made in the manufacturing of these instruments. Formerly they were cast in moulds, but now they are bored out of solid metal, by a machine adapted to that purpose, whereby they are reckoned to be stronger, and more capable of sustaining repeated explosions.

The furnaces are day and night fed with coal and wood, both which are reduced into charcoal before they are thrown into them.

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They are blown with bellows of a monstrous size, and of a cylindrical construction, whose force is said to be much greater than that of those of the common form. As these bellows are too unwieldy for the hands of men, they expand and contract by the motion of wheels driven by water, and the sound of their blast is most hideous. In order to obtain a sufficient supply of water for driving these wheels, which are never allowed to stand still, the whole process depending upon their motion, much labour and expence have been laid out, in forming ponds or dams in the river, and reservoirs upon its banks, besides the erection of a fire-engine, which, in very dry seasons, when other sources diminish, draws the water back again, and throws it into the pond, to supply the engines anew.

A forge is erected, with hammers of great weight, whose motions are also caused by water-wheels, for beating iron into plates. The place where this operation is carried on, is a large and gloomy apartment, in a low situation, where the ponde-

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rous hammers, and unwieldy anvils, naturally recall to memory the poets description of the forge of the Cyclops.

Gemit impositis incudibus antrum,
Illi inter sese multa vi brachia tollunt
In numerum, versantque tenaci forcipe massam*.

This branch, however, not turning, it seems, to so good account, hath for some time been much laid aside.

At first the workmen employed in this manufacture were mostly brought from England; but, at present, it is chiefly carried on by natives of Scotland, who are found to be fully as expert in the different operations as the English, and, as they can be content with more homely fare, do not require so high wages.

The erection of this work hath quite altered the face of the country around it. Besides the numerous buildings raised for carrying on the manufacture, in a spot where formerly there was not a single house, several villages have been erected for the convenience of the workmen. The
neighbouring

* Æneid, L. 8. v. 451.

neighbouring fields have been enclosed and improven ; many spots, which were formerly quite barren, have been cultivated, and turned to good account ; and fundry proprietors have let lands, either to the company, or to individual members of it, in feus or leales, at very high rents.

Under the article of commerce, it would be an unpardonable omission not to give some account of the navigable canal between Forth and Clyde, which hath the half of its course within the shire of Stirling ; but an object so great and important demands a separate section.

SECT.

S E C T. XIX.

The Great Canal.

A Navigable communication between the Friths of Forth and Clyde hath long been a subject of speculation. It was proposed in the reign of Charles II. but no step was then taken towards the execution. In 1723, Mr Gordon, author of a well known book, intitled *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, made a survey of the isthmus, by order of government; but neither at that time did the design proceed any further. It appears never to have been considered with a serious view to execution, till within these last sixteen years, when the great utility of fundry projects of that kind, which had been executed with success in England, began to excite a general desire of seeing such a work accomplished in Scotland, where nature pointed out a tract so proper for it, as the narrow isthmus between the two Friths.

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In 1763, that isthmus was, at the desire of the trustees for promoting fisheries, manufactures, and improvements in Scotland, surveyed by Mr Smeaton, an engineer of great reputation, whose report, next year, demonstrated the practicability of the design. From that time, it became an object of general attention, and measures began to be concerted for carrying it into execution.

Two different plans were at first proposed to the public. The *first*, of a small canal sufficient to carry flat bottomed boats, which were to load and unload at the entries: The *second*, of a canal whose breadth and depth should be sufficient to carry vessels of such a size and construction, as should not confine them entirely to inland navigation, but render them fit to proceed in their voyage to Leith, upon the east, and Greenock upon the west, or to any other port in the two Friths.

The second plan met with the most general approbation, and was adopted, as having the appearance of the greatest public utility. The fears of the public concerning the money requisite for the execution, which

was

was estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand pounds Sterling, were soon prevented; for, a subscription being opened, as many public spirited noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, quickly stepped forth, as filled it up; and, likewise applying to parliament, obtained an act, of date March 8th 1768, erecting them into a political and incorporated company, by the designation of the Proprietors of the Forth and Clyde Navigation, and investing them with full powers to carry the plan into execution.

This great undertaking, which began July 10th 1768, and is now carried on to the neighbourhood of Glasgow, does much honour to the promoters of it; and, though the nation is not yet sufficiently able to judge of the full extent of its utility, will undoubtedly prove, in process of time, of no small advantage to commerce. It will at least remain a lasting monument of the public and commercial spirit of the eighteenth century. And, though the proprietors may not meet with so quick returns for their money, as perhaps they expected, they have the pleasure of reflecting upon their
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own generous forwardness to advance the public interest, upon probable grounds, and of adapting to themselves the old adage, *In magnis voluisse sat est.*

It extends from the river Carron, near its influx into the Frith of Forth, to the river Clyde, two miles north of the city of Glasgow, a course of twenty-seven English miles. Its breadth is twenty-four feet at bottom, and fifty-four at the surface, containing seven feet depth of water. It was at first carried on with great vigour, and with an industry which surmounted all opposition. Where its course is intercepted by vallies, rivers, or brooks, it is conducted over them by aqueduct bridges and banking, the largest of which, in the shire of Stirling, are those at Bonnie-mill, and Castlecary-burn. Small rills are conveyed below it by arched conduits, called *Tunnels*; and the public roads, which intersect its course, either pass beneath it, through large arches, or are carried over it by draw-bridges.

As the ground through which it passes gradually riseth from each entry to the summit, or highest point between the two seas,

feas, the navigation is performed by means of locks, which are oblong basons or cisterns, with a two folding gate at each end, and so constructed, that the bason being filled with water, by an upper sluice, to the level of the waters above, a vessel may ascend through the upper gate; or the water in the bason being reduced to the level of the water at the bottom of the cascade, the vessel may descend through the lower gate.

To represent this operation still more clearly; when a vessel is ascending to the summit, she is introduced into the bason by opening the lower gate, which is immediately shut behind her; and, upon drawing a sluice in the upper gate, the water rusheth in till it is upon a level with the reach above, gradually raising the vessel along with it; then the whole gate is opened, by means of long wooden beams or levers, moved horizontally, and she passes over the bar or cascade, to proceed in her voyage. When a vessel is descending, the upper gate is first opened, and, as soon as the water is upon a level, she advances into the bason, upon which the upper gate is immedi-

immediately shut, and the lower opened for her entrance into the reach below.

The locks are founded upon piles and platforms of wood, and lined with strong walls of hewn stone upon each side. The space between two locks is called a *Reach*, and is digged the full height of the cascade, which is eight feet deeper at the end next the summit than at the other, that the water in it, when settled on a level, may be all of an equal depth.

The whole process of this navigation depends upon a sufficient quantity of water at the summit or point of partition, to refund the daily waste occasioned by vessels passing through the locks, by exhalation, by subterraneous filterings where the banks are sandy, and other causes ; for, without a constant supply, the water would soon be totally expended, and a dry ditch would present itself to the eye, instead of a navigable canal. The summit is situated within the shire we are surveying, and nature hath been very liberal in furnishing an advantageous situation for it.

A morass, two miles in length, called *Dolater bog*, a little to the eastward of Kil-
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fyth,

fyth, is the highest ground through which the canal passes, being elevated above the high water neap-tides in Carron, about one hundred and forty-seven feet, and distant from the eastern entry about ten miles. Into this bog, the large burn of Auchin-clough, with sundry other smaller brooks, perpetually discharges itself; and the country upon each side rising high, affords a number of springs and rills, which bring down considerable quantities of water upon the least fall of rain. By this means, together with some artificial improvements added to the natural situation of the ground, a perpetual reservoir is formed, for furnishing both ends of the canal with fresh supplies of water, sufficient to carry on the navigation, even in seasons of the greatest drought.

We now proceed to a short survey of this great work, in its passage through the shire of Stirling, within the limits of which, the half of the locks, amounting to twenty in number, are situated. At the eastern entry, which is from the river Carron at Grange burn, two miles eastward of Falkirk, a double lock is erected, that is, two locks closely

closely adjoining to each other, the outermost or lower, being designed to render the bottom of the canal of an equal level with that of the river. At this entry, which is called the *Sea-lock*, are built granaries and warehouses for lodging grain, and other goods belonging to the canal-navigation, as also a number of dwelling-houses, which are yearly increasing, so that it bids fair to become a place of no small resort. Adjoining to the sea-lock is an excellent harbour, called the *Green brae*, sheltered on all sides by the high banks of the river, so large, according to Mr Smeaton's account, as to be capable of containing a thousand sail of ships, and of sufficient depth of water to carry those of five or six hundred tons. From the sea-lock, the canal stretches westward by Dalgreen and Dalderse, through a gently rising tract of ground, so as to require only three locks in the space of two miles; but, when it arrives at Mungall, opposite to Falkirk upon the north, the ground begins to rise so quickly in the ascent of an eminence called *Tophill*, that, in the course of little more than half a mile, no less than eleven locks are required. Between the
sea-lock

sea-lock and Mungall, it intersects two public roads, which are conducted over it by as many draw-bridges, one at Dalgreen, the other at Bainsford in Graham's muir. At Tophill, in the very midst of the group of locks, it intersects the high road leading from Falkirk to Glasgow and Stirling, which is carried through below by a magnificent aqueduct-bridge, alongst which, the navigation, with all its appendages, passeth. After it hath reached the high grounds at Camelon, it stands for a long way upon a level, so as to require no locks for the space of four miles. In that part, however, fundry difficulties occurred in the formation, which were not surmounted without much labour and expence. Different vallies and rivulets intercepting its course, could not be passed without arching and banking. The largest of these hollows is at Bonnie-miln, over which a large and elegant arch is thrown. When it comes near to Castlecary, the ground begins to rise, so as to demand four locks at different places; and, in its passing Bonnie water, another aqueduct-bridge is required. Soon after, it arrives at Dolater bog, the point of partition, or
summit

summit between the two seas, where the water stands nearly upon a level for several miles. As soon as it hath got clear of the bog, it leaves the shire of Stirling, and enters upon that of Dumbarton.

Vessels, twenty feet wide, and sixty feet long, and carrying seventy or eighty tons, may navigate the canal from one Frith to the other. The vessels make use of a sail when the wind is fair; but, in calm weather, or when going against the blast, they are drawn by horses, which walk upon a road formed along the north bank, called, in the act of parliament, the *Towing-path*.

The following laws are established by the legislature, for regulating the navigation, some of which relate to the incorporated company of proprietors, others to those employed in conducting the vessels.

The company was impowered to raise among themselves, for compleating the work, L. 150,000, in 1500 shares of L. 100 each, and, if that sum should not be sufficient, they were impowered to raise L. 50,000 more, either amongst themselves, or by a new subscription, in their own option. Every proprietor who has five shares
or

or more, is intitled to a vote in the management, by himself or proxy; but no proprietor can have more than ten votes, though possessed of more than an hundred shares.

General meetings of the proprietors are appointed to be held the first Tuesday of every quarter, in the parliament house at Edinburgh, or in any other place they shall find convenient.

A toll, not exceeding two pence Sterling *per* ton, for each mile, shall be leviable by the company on all goods, and one penny a ton *per* mile, on all empty vessels navigated upon the canal.

Lime and lime-stone shall not pay more than one fourth, and iron-stone more than one half of the tolls. Paving stones, gravel, and all other materials for making and repairing roads, and also dung, soil, marle, and all sorts of manure, are exempted from paying any toll, provided the vessels carrying them are not loaded higher than the sides of the boat, and do not pass any lock, but when the water shall flow over the places made for discharging the overplus in the canal. No vessel under fifteen tons
burden

burden shall pass through any lock, without a special licence in writing.

The dividends of the proprietors shall not exceed ten *per cent.* upon the sums paid in ; when they exceed that sum, the tolls are to be lowered.

The ground to be taken up by the canal and towing-path shall not exceed one hundred yards in breadth, except in places where the vessels are to lie, turn, or pass each other.

That private property might not be encroached upon, without an adequate compensation, the grounds occupied by the canal are appointed to be valued, and the proprietors of them paid in proportion. A committee too is nominated for determining all questions between the company and the owners of these lands ; and, if any of the parties are not satisfied with their determination, the committee is empowered to impanel juries, whose verdict shall be final.

The company is obliged to make, and keep in constant repair, proper drains for conveying the water, which would other-
ways,

ways, on account of the canal, overflow the adjacent lands. Yea, provision is made, that cattle, deprived of their former watering places by this work, shall be provided with others at the expence of the company.

The owners of adjoining lands may erect wharfs and warehouses on their own property. The rate of wharfage shall not exceed threepence *per* ton, unless the goods remain on the wharf longer than six days.

Persons wilfully placing a vessel, so as to obstruct the navigation, if not removed immediately upon request made, forfeit a sum, not above ten, nor below five shillings for every hour such obstruction continues. Persons obstructing the passage by floating timber, loading a vessel so high with that commodity, that it shall lie over the sides; or overloading a vessel with any commodity, who shall not, on notice given, remove the obstruction, forfeit five pounds, as do likewise those who throw ballast, or any sort of lumber into the canal.

Every boatman passing through any lock, who shall suffer the water to remain in the lock longer than is necessary for his vessel

vessel to pass through, forfeits forty shillings, as do those who are not careful to observe the regulations established for preserving the locks, and saving the water.

A company is established with the same powers, and under the same regulations with the proprietors of the Forth and Clyde navigation, for making a navigable cut of seven feet wide, from the harbour of Borrowstowness, through the Carles of Kinneil and Beercrofts, to communicate with the great canal; but no effectual steps have as yet been taken for carrying that plan into execution.

The canal hath already made a visible alteration upon the face of the country through which it passeth. Dwelling houses and granaries are erected in sundry places upon its banks; as also brick-works, and yards for the sale of foreign timber; boats for the navigation have been built upon the brink of it; the adjacent fields begin to be enclosed and better cultivated, and the bustle of trade gives an enlivening aspect to several places which were formerly quite desert and lonely.

S E C T. XX.

Agriculture.

THE low state of agriculture in Scotland, in former times, was not so much owing to any natural defect in the soil, as to other causes. Speculative writers observe, that as arts and useful improvements have gradually travelled from the eastern to the western parts of the world, their arrival in a country so remote from their original habitation, must of course have been late. More satisfying reasons, however, can be assigned for the slow progress of rural improvements in this kingdom.

Until commerce and manufactures began to flourish, small attention was paid to the culture of the soil; because the state of the country was such as afforded neither motives to it, nor the means of carrying it on. The land was divided amongst a few great proprietors,

proprieters, called Barons, whose incomes being no more than sufficient to maintain that rustic kind of hospitality in which they lived in the midst of their vassals and retainers, afforded no overplus to lay out in the melioration of their estates. Neither could they borrow from their neighbours, who were in the same circumstances with themselves. As little could they sell one part of their possessions, in order to improve the remainder; for there were no purchasers to buy it. Add to this, that, under the feudal constitution, every profession was held in contempt but that of arms; and commerce and agriculture were absurdly deemed beneath the attention of the barons and gentry.

No more did those times furnish any powerful motives to excite tenants to industry and application. In most places, the landlord's rent was paid by delivering him cattle in kind. The tenant's family chiefly subsisted upon milk, with the addition of a little animal food salted for winter. Their clothing, and other domestic conveniencies, arose from the sale of such cattle as they could

could spare for the market, after payment of the rent. Except in situations near principal towns, the demand for grain was so small, that they never thought of raising any greater quantity than was sufficient for the maintenance of their own families, and perhaps those of a few cottagers around them. Add likewise to this, that, for many ages, tenants had no certain security for their possessions, even to the termination of their leases, but were liable to be turned out upon the sale of the lands, or the death of the present proprietor, and the succession of another*.

The legislature had, at different periods, established sundry regulations to encourage, or rather force the lieges to the cultivation of their lands; but the influence of these was but very feeble, and produced small alteration upon the face of the country. Several old acts of parliament upon that subject, can hardly be read at present, without

* It was not till 1449, in the reign of James II. that tacks were declared effectual to the tacksmen for the full time of their duration, notwithstanding the change of proprietors. Jam. II. par. 6. cap. 17.

out forcing a smile. They discover at once the low state of agriculture in those ages, the prevailing ignorance of that useful science, and the small esteem in which it was held. It sometimes happened too, that agriculture was fettered by a former statute, still left in force, when a new one was enacted to encourage it. Above all, the great spring, which, in every art and profession, sets the wheels of industry in motion, was, in a great measure, wanting; viz. a return of profit equivalent to the labour bestowed; but, when this spring began to operate, it produced more solid effects than all the statutes of legislation could ever have done.

The progress of commerce and manufactures gradually altered circumstances, and presented a new face of things. It not only increased the demand for the productions of agriculture, but raised the price of them; and, moreover, introduced a plentiful circulation of money, to enable the tradesman to ready payment. This proved a powerful temptation to the husbandman to set about raising corn, not only for the use of his own family, but for sale; and finding the demands for the productions of his fields
yearly

yearly increafing, he was excited to double his diligence in the culture of them, in order to obtain a fresh fupply for the gainful market. The proprietor too, if he was fo happy as to divest himfelf of his fenfelefs prejudice againft being a tiller of the ground, beheld a new fund for enabling him to improve his eftate, either by felling a part of it to the monied merchant or tradesman, or by borrowing of them fuch fums as he ftood in need of.

Commerce and manufactures have not only introduced a circulation of money for carrying on improvements, but the greateft efforts in agriculture have been made by merchants and tradesmen, who, having been enabled to purchafe eftates, have carried into their rural poffeffions the fame fpirit of activity and induftry which they had exerted in trade.

The firft purchafer of land generally contributes moft to the melioration of it. The next heir, proud of having fucceeded to an eftate which was his father's, often betakes himfelf to fome other way of life, which, in his own eftimation, gives him more the
air

air of a gentleman; or, perhaps, spends the wealth acquired by the industry of his parents, in dissipation and riotous idleness.

The more fluctuating the state of landed property is, the more is the face of the country improved, as each new purchaser ordinarily performs something in the way of melioration. Those who possess inheritances handed down to them from remote ancestors, have seldom, at least till of late, advanced the cultivation of them; and, though they may boast of the antiquity of their families, can rarely boast of having bettered the estate by their own industry and application. How many families, whose immediate ancestors were merchants or tradesmen, at present live in opulence, while the heirs of ancient possessions can scarce support themselves upon the scanty remains of a worn-out inheritance, which yet the owner values, as having been long in his family; a qualification of it, which no body esteems but himself and his vain relations?

The most early cultivated spots in the shire of Stirling, were those which belonged to the monasteries of Cambuskenneth, Newbottle,

bottle, and Holyroodhouse, each of which had considerable possessions within the bounds of it. The regular clergy were far from being unskilled in agriculture, and knew how to turn to the best advantage the donations of land made to them. Their first care was to gather out the stones, which, even at this day, are, in many places, still to be seen piled up in heaps around those fields. It is a general observation, that stones are seldom to be found in those grounds which were formerly church-lands, though they are still to be seen in great plenty in the same sort of soil around them. Singular reasons contributed to encourage the cultivation of these lands. The religious proprietors were exempted from paying tithes to any cathedral or parish-church, out of the fields which they had rendered arable at their own expence. Their tenants also held their farms at a moderate rent, and were seldom ejected when the lease expired, but received a new one; moreover, being relieved from military services, and other burdens, to which the tenants of laymen were subjected,

jected, had the most ample encouragement to apply their whole attention to the cultivation of their fields.

This shire is at present as far advanced in the improvement of agriculture as any of those around it, though the greatest part of it is still capable of higher degrees of cultivation. It was observed in a former section, that the Carfes have been in constant tillage from time immemorial, and generally stand in need of no further improvement, than that which arises from manure and culture proper for the soil. In the higher grounds, several thousand acres have been inclosed, and tolerably cultivated in the course of the last twenty years. Muirs and marshes, which had been formerly neglected as useless, have been converted into arable ground, so as to produce good grain or pasture; and even mosses have been forced to yield to the hand of industry. Upon the estate of Elphinstone, many acres of good Carse soil have been gained by incroachments upon a large moss. This is effected by digging up the moss, and throwing it

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into

into a canal, which conveys it into the Forth. Wet weather is the most proper season for that operation, and the greatest progress is made in open and rainy winters. The soil thus recovered, after it hath been exposed to the summer sun and winter frosts, produces very plentifully. The tenants have a nineteen years lease of the ground, which they gain by this expedient, upon paying a small acknowledgement to the proprietor.

Property in this shire hath, of late years, been in a very fluctuating condition, inso-much, that there are few estates in it, which have not changed their owners in the memory of people yet alive, and fundry of them have been in the possession of three or more different families since the beginning of the present century. Nor are such frequent changes to be considered as peculiar to the shire we are surveying; they are probably no less discernible in other shires; and naturally bring to our remembrance what Horace, in the person of Ofellus, observes concerning the instability of landed property, and the different causes thereof.

Nam

Nam propriae telluris herum natura neque illum,
 Nec me nec quenquam statuit: Nos expulit ille,
 Illum aut nequities, aut vafri inſcitia juris,
 Poſtremo expellet.
 Nunc ager Umbreni ſub nomine, nuper Ofelli
 Dictus, erit nulli proprius: Sed cedit in uſum,
 Nunc mihi, nunc alii *.

This fluctuation, however, hath tended not a little to the improvement of the country, as each new poſſeſſor hath uſually done ſomewhat for that purpoſe.

The extenſive works upon the river Carron have tended to the improvement of the fields around them; and the great canal will doubtleſs, in proceſs of time, prove of great uſe towards the cultivation of large tracts of barren grounds, which lie alongſt its banks, as it will facilitate the carriage of lime, and other materials. To this the legiſlature hath been particularly attentive; for the act of parliament, relating to the navigation of the canal, exempts, from paying toll-duty, dung, ſoil, marle, and all ſorts of manure, provided the veſſels carrying them do not paſs the locks, but

* HOR. Lib. 2. Sat. 2.

but at a time when there is plenty of water for the other purposes of navigation.

The condition in which the two great estates of Callender and Kilfyth have been, since their forfeiture in 1715, hath proved an obstacle to the culture of the large tracts which they occupy in this shire. They were sold by government to the York building company, by whom they were let to tacksmen, who have done very little towards their improvement. Upon the expiry of the present leases, these estates will probably be brought to a public sale, and the new purchasers will find room to exert all their vigour in the cultivation of them.

There are few spots in the shire which are not capable of improvement, except mosses or rocky hills, where the expence would far exceed the value of any productions they could be brought to yield.

The method of inclosing practised in this shire, is the same with that which is common in other parts of the island, viz. with stone walls, or thorn hedges and ditches. Different climates, however, require different methods of inclosing. Stone
walls

walls appear most proper for low situations, and hedges for the higher grounds. Naked stone walls in cold and bleak places are of no other service than to fix the boundaries of lands, or prevent the cattle that pasture in them from straying. They contribute nothing to the warmth of the soil, nor the advancement of vegetation; whereas hedges produce this effect, and are, on that account, of great advantage, especially in high and bleak situations. It appears to be a sort of paradox to affirm, that hedges, in which we observe so many interstices and openings, should contribute more to the warmth of the soil, than a stone wall, however close and high; yet the truth of it is undeniable. It is no doubt to be ascribed to the elasticity of the air, which, being repelled by a solid substance, soon recovers itself, and reverberates with redoubled vigour; whereas, the branches and leaves of a hedge divide, and scatter the particles of air, driving them from one substance to another, whereby their force is much exhausted. This is the reason why the air, passing through a vacancy in a hedge, is not nearly

ly so penetrating as that which blows through a chink of the same dimensions in a solid wall.

There are few shires capable of having any addition made to the quantity of ground contained in them. It is, however, one of the singularities of that which we are surveying, that it is not incapable of being enlarged. A tract of some thousand acres, extending along the banks of Forth and Carron, from Kinnel to Higgens-neuk, might, at no immoderate expence, be gained, by erecting a strong dike to protect it from the overflowings of the tide. Much greater improvements have been attempted with success in Holland, and other parts of the globe. Near the beginning of the current century, a Dutchman proposed to acquire, by this method, a tract of two thousand acres, upon condition of his being allowed the possession of it for forty years, and the timber of the wood of Kinnel for materials towards the erection of the dikes. The proposal was rejected, though, if it had been accepted, the acquisition would, at present, according to the ordinary value of
Carse

Carse ground, have been worth four thousand pound Sterling *per annum*.

Every man, who, by turning barren lands into fruitful fields, increases the productions of the earth, is a public benefactor of mankind; though we should not admit the satirical observation of Dean Swift in its full latitude, ‘that he who makes one pile of
‘ corn or grass to grow where there was none
‘ before, deserves more of mankind than all
‘ the politicians that ever were in the world.’

The person is still alive, who, about thirty years ago, first introduced the culture of potatoes from Ireland into Scotland. Before that time, that vegetable, now of so great benefit to the poor, and so generally used by all ranks of mankind, was only reared up in gardens, or imported from abroad, so that the lower and middling classes of mankind were almost utter strangers to it. But Mr Graham at Kilsyth, with a spirit truly patriotic, vigorously set about the cultivation of it, and planted it in the open fields; and the method practised by him being adopted by others, it gradually spread through every part of the country.

Tillage

Tillage is usually performed after the common method, with a plough of four horses. Oxen, which of old were much employed in agriculture all over the kingdom, and are still used in steep and hilly grounds, have been long disused here. In the western parts of the shire, the four horses are sometimes yoked abreast, and the leader or goadman walks in a very inconvenient posture, with his back foremost, and his face to the plough.

The time of plowing does not usually begin till after the term of Candlemas. Winter plowing would not suit the bulk of the soil; and, perhaps, there are few soils where it is of real advantage, as it exposes the ridges to be washed by the winter rains, whereby many of the finest particles of earth are swept away. The harvest, in general, is not so early as in the Lothians, nor so late as in many other parts of Scotland.

The Carfes abound with orchards, which, in favourable seasons, yield great quantities of excellent fruit, especially apples and pears, which not only serve for home

home consumption, but are carried to distant markets. The productions of the garden are at least as good as in any of the neighbouring shires; and the great demand for them, occasioned by the increase of manufacturers, hath of late much increased the number of gardens, especially in the eastern parts of the shire.

S E C T. XXI.

The Civil and Ecclesiastical History.

TH E division of Scotland into those jurisdictions called shires, is of so high antiquity, that the time when it first took place cannot with any certainty be ascertained, much less the rules by which the legislature proceeded in the establishment of it. These jurisdictions are so far from bearing an equal proportion to each other in extent of territory, that some of them are at least ten times larger than others.

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In ancient times, the different districts often went by the name of the river upon the banks of which they were situated, with the addition of Dale, in the southern parts, as Clydsdale, Annandale, Nithsdale, Tweddale, Lauderdale; and, in the southern parts, with the addition of Strath, as Strathern, Strathbogie, Strathnaver. At present shires generally take their name from a particular town within the district where the courts are held, and to which the subjects of the jurisdiction are appointed to resort for the administration of justice. The capital town, however, is seldom the most commodious place for the bulk of the inhabitants, being more frequently situated upon the extremities of the shire, than towards the centre. So little have the convenience of the lieges, and the extent of territory, been considered in the partition, that it appears to have been dictated rather by the suggestions of fancy, than by any fixed rule, unless it proceeded upon principles that are now unknown. Probably the present capital was at that time the only town in the district, the rest of it being
 very

very thinly peopled. Nevertheless it must be observed, that all the thirty three shires, into which Scotland is divided, have, except a very few, a communication with the sea in some corner of them; either by lying alongst the shore, or upon the sides of Friths or navigable rivers. This looks as if it had been intended that they should have an opportunity of foreign commerce, and a share of the productions of the ocean, as well as of the dry land.

The highest officer in each of those jurisdictions is the sheriff. This office is of a Saxon original, and, according to Etymologists, signifies the governor of a division, being compounded of *Sheer*, a section or division, and *Reeve* a governor. The first time we find that officer mentioned is in that code of regulations, called the Macalpine laws, which were compiled towards the middle of the ninth century, by the order of Kenneth II. son of King Alpine; though it is probable, that the office, as well as the division of Scotland into shires, was much more ancient; for these laws are said to have been a collection of former

former statutes, and at that time only reduced into a regular system, with the sanction of a new authority annexed to them. After all, the authenticity of these laws is very questionable.

The office of sheriff was for many ages hereditary, which was often the cause of great injustice and oppression to the lieges, notwithstanding the severe laws enacted by the legislature, for punishing those who were guilty of iniquity in the execution of it. The Macalpine code supposes the office to be hereditary, when it enjoins the sheriff, not only to study the laws himself, but carefully to teach them to his sons who should succeed him.

The regular succession of those who held that office in the shire we are surveying, cannot easily be ascertained, nor would it add much to the stock of historical knowledge. It was several times transferred from one family to another, in consequence of the forfeiture, deprivation, or resignation of the preceeding possessor.

In the reign of Alexander II. near the middle of the thirteenth century, we find
Bernard

Bernard Frazer of Touch, high sheriff of the shire of Stirling. The office continued in that family till about 1360*, when it was conferred, by King David Bruce, upon his great friend and favourite Sir Robert Erskine†, in whose family it continued till 1647; when, at the desire of Charles I. the Earl of Marr resigned the office into the hands of the crown, receiving in lieu thereof, and for payment of certain debts due to him by the crown, a lease of the feus of the Lordship of Stirling‡. At that time the Earl of Callender obtained a grant of the office of high sheriff§. During the government of Oliver Cromwell, the office was executed by Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse||. After the restoration, the Earl of Linlithgow was appointed high sheriff; upon his forfeiture in 1715, it was conferred upon the Duke of Montrose, in whose family it continued till 1748.

The high sheriff had a deputy under him; hence we often find two different persons

* Crawford's state officers. † Idem. ‡ Guthrie's memoirs. § Idem. || Baillie's letters, vol. II. p. 383.

sons mentioned, as holding the office at the same time.

In 1748, all heritable jurisdictions were abolished by act of parliament, and it was enacted, that all sheriffs and steward-deputies should, for the future, be nominated by the crown, with a fixed salary, instead of the fees which they had formerly exacted from the lieges; the hereditary sheriffs receiving from government such sums of money as were thought an adequate compensation for the loss of that office.

Before the statute of 1748, the only court of regality in this shire was that of Callender. Every barony had also its court. But all these are now abolished throughout Scotland, or, at least, their powers, which once extended to life and death, are so limited and circumscribed, as prevents them from being any longer the engines of oppression and injustice.

Besides the justice of peace-courts, who hold their quarterly meetings at Stirling, and the bailie-court of that town, which reaches no further than the limits of the borough-jurisdiction, there is at present a commissary-

commiffary-court, which is ufually held at Stirling, and an admiralty-court, which ordinarily meets at Falkirk. Stirling too, being one of the towns which compofe the western circuit, is vifited twice a year by the Lords of jufticiary, who hold their court for fix days in it.

The fhire contains the following parifhes: Stirling, St Ninians, Alva, Airth, Bothkennar, the united parifhes of Larbert, and Dunipace, Falkirk, Polmount, Muiravenfide, Slamanan or St Laurence, Denny, Kilfyth *alias* Monyabrock, Campsie, Fintry, Straithblane, Balfron, Baldernock, Buchannan, Drymen, Kilearn, Gargunnock, together with the greateft part of Kippen, and a part of Logie. Before the reformation, only three of thefe, viz. Slamanan, Kilfyth, and Kilearn, were parfonages. All the reft were annexed to cathedrals or monafteries, who, by virtue of that annexation, became poffeffed of the whole tithes, and nominated an ecclefiaftic, called the curate or vicar, to perform divine fervice in the churches. This officer had a certain portion of the fmall tithes allotted to him for his maintenance, and from thence
arofe

arose the distinction of tithes into parsonage and vicarage.

In those times, all the parishes of this shire, which are situated eastward of Gargunnock and Denny, together with these two parishes, were within the diocese of St Andrew's, except Alva, which belonged to that of Dunkeld. The parishes in the western parts, except Kippen, which belonged to the see of Dumblane, were under the episcopal jurisdiction of Glasgow, and the minister of Kilearn was one of the prebends of that cathedral. After the reformation, those parishes, which had belonged to the see of St Andrew's, fell under the inspection of the superintendant of Lothian. The first who exercised that office in those parts, was Mr John Spottiswood, father to the Archbishop of that name, author of the ecclesiastical history. The western parts were under the inspection of the superintendant of Glasgow, the first of whom was Mr John Willocks.

In 1633, upon a representation by Archbishop Spottiswood, of the great disadvantages and inconveniencies arising from the distance

distance of the southern parts of the diocese of St Andrew's from the cathedral, and the weight of so extensive a charge, Charles I. dissolved from that see those parts which lay upon the southside of the Frith, and erected them into a separate see, called the *Bishoprick of Edinburgh*, the cathedral of which was the church of St Giles in that city. The eastern parts of Stirlingshire were of course subjected to this new ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and the ministers of Stirling and Falkirk were appointed two of the twelve prebends of St Giles, with a salary of eighty pounds Scots each.

The parishes of Stirling, St Ninian's, Airth, Bothkennar, Larbert, Denny, Gargunnock, and Alva, belong at present to the presbytery of Stirling, and the provincial synod of Perth and Stirling, as did formerly the parish of Falkirk, which, at that time, comprehended likewise those of Muiravenfide and Polmont.

Falkirk, Muiravenfide, Polmont, and Slamannan, are within the presbytery of Linlithgow, and synod of Lothian and Tweddale. Kilsyth and Campsie are situated

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within

within the presbytery of Glasgow, and synod of Glasgow and Air. Drymen, Baldernock, Buchanan, Balfrone, Straithblane, Kilearn, and Fintry, attend the presbytery of Dumbarton, and synod of Glasgow and Air. The parishes of Kippin and Logie, a part of both which lies within the limits of this shire, belong to the presbytery of Dumblane, and synod of Perth and Stirling.

Mr Ebenezer Erskine, one of the heads of the secession, was minister of Stirling, and had influence to draw many in that town, and the neighbouring parishes, to join with him in dissenting from the established church. Above one third of the inhabitants of this shire are at present dissenters; and there are nine meeting-houses within the bounds of it, who adhere either to the two different denominations of seceders, or the presbytery of relief. The different parties have of late dropped much of that reciprocal rancour, which they once entertained towards one another, and generally live in amicable terms with each other, and with those of the established church; and all are well affected to the protestant succession in the house of Hanover.

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

Prima Charta originalis David Regis, fundatoris nostri de Cambuskenneth.

In nomine Patris et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, amen. Ego David, Dei gratia, Rex Scotorum, assensu Henrici filii mei, et Episcoporum regni mei, Comitumque et Baronum confirmatione et testimonio, concedo ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae de Striveling, et canonicis in ea regulariter viventibus, ea quae subscripta sunt, et pace perpetua confirmo. Haec itaque sunt, quae praefatae ecclesiae concedo terram de Cambuskenneth, et piscaturam inter eandem terram et Pollemase, et unum rete in aqua; terram quoque de Colling, cum nemore et suis rectis divisis; terram etiam de Dunbodenum, quae est inter aquam ejusdem terrae *, et terram de Loching;

* The situation of a part of the lands of Tillibody, in a sort of peninsula formed by the Forth, is probably the reason why they are here described as lying *inter aquam ejusdem terrae*.

Loching; quadraginta quoque solidos de redditu meo de Striveling, et canum unius navis, et unam salinam, et totidem terrae, quot habet una de salinis meis, et decimam firmæ de dominiis meis de Striveling, et oblationes, quae in praediſta eccleſia oblatae fuerint; et inſulam *, quae eſt inter Pollemasæ et Dunbodenum, et viginti cudernos de caſeis redditus mei de Striveling; eandem quoque libertatem et conſuetudinem, quam caeteris eccleſiis terrae meo conceſſi et confirmavi, eidem eccleſiae concedo et confirmo. Volo itaque, ut quaecunque praediſta eccleſia in praeſenti poſſedit vel in futuro poſſeffura

* That tract is at preſent a large peninſula formed by the Forth. It is called, in the bull of Pope Celeſtine, *Red Inche*; and a particular part of it is ſtill known by the name of *Red Neuk*. It is now a part of the eſtate of Black Grange, in which name is preſerved the memory of the lands having once belonged to the church. Grange (Granagium) ſignifies the place where the rents and tithes of religious houſes, which were ordinarily paid in grain, were delivered, and depoſited in barns or granaries. The epithet *Black* might be given to this place, either from the colour of the ſoil, or of the materials of which the barn and offices conſiſted, or ſome ſuch frivolous circumſtance.

fessura est, ita quiete et libere, sicut ego
 praefatas terras possideo, possideant. Salva
 defensione regni et iustitia regali, si prela-
 tus, aliquo impulsu, a iustitia exorbitanave-
 rit. Hujus confirmationis testes sunt Hen-
 ricus filius Regis, Robertus Episcopus Sanc-
 tae Andreae; Gregorius Episcopus Dunkel-
 eden; Herbertus, Electus de Glasgow; G.
 Abbas Dunfermline; , Abbas
 Sanctae Andreae; Robertus, Prior Sanctae
 Andreae; Gilbertus, Prior Jeddewart; Ed-
 wardus Cancellarius; Comes Duncanus;
 Leodolphus de Brechin; Hugo de Morville;
 Herbertus Camerarius; Will. de Summer-
 ville; Alanus de Foulis; William de Lin-
 deff; Walterus de Ridale *.

No.

* Chartulary of Cambuskenneth.

No. II.

A list of the names of those, in the shire of Stirling, who swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296, taken from Prynne, who extracted them from the Record, called Ragman-Roll, in the tower of London. To which is subjoined a translation from the original French, with a few historical and explanatory notes.*

Malcolm Counte de Levanaux ; Johannes de Calentyr Miles ; Alewynus de Calyntyr ; Alexander de Erth ; Richard de Erth ; Marie, que fu la feme Huwe de Erth. Johan Strivelyn de Cars ; Gilbert Malherbe ; William le Servitour ; Johan de Dryelow ; Robert de Normanville ; John de Lamberton ; Thomas de Moreham Pusnee ; Jwyn de Carghil ; Duncan Maggadelf de Cambroun ; Malcolin de Boughcanian ; Gilbert de Buthernock ; Duncan Bard ; Brice Finlawefone de Nerbolg ; Thomas le fiz Waucolum de Garth Geveron ; Robert Crotchet ;

* Prynne's collect. vol. 3.

Crotchet ; Richard de Pessun de Strivelyn ; Richard de Ireland ; Thomas de Montgomery ; Gille Rosan le Rous ; Ende le fiz Morrice ; Gilbert de Drymmond ; Patrick, Abbe de Cambusshenel et le covent de mesme le lieu ; Alice priorisse de Manuel, et le covent de mesme le lieu.

Richard Brice de Strivelyn, Burgoyes et Alderman de mesme le burk ; Laurence de Dunblan ; William Servitour ; Reynaud de Malleville ; Richard Prestre ; Robert de Taillour ; Morrice le Rous ; Gilbert Teke-ter ; Adam le fiz Richard ; Rauf le Wright ; William le Lardynner ; et Johan de Drye-low, burgois, et tote la communaulte del avant dit burk.

Mestre Henry de Strivelyn ; Thomas Punodayn ; Patrick Gilcristeffone ; Johan Manuel ; Adam Gurdon ; Johan de Bondington Clerk ; Patrick de Blantyre ; Andreu del Ker ; Stevenne le Ryche ; Johan de Kynmore ; Richard Frefer chevalier.

Translation.

Malcolm Earl of Lennox ; Sir John of Callendar ; Alwyn of Callendar ; Alexander

der of Airth ; Richard of Airth ; Mary, who had been the wife of Hugh of Airth ; John Stirling of Carfe ; Gilbert Malherbe ; William the Servant ; John of Drylaw ; Robert Normanville ; John Lamberton ; Thomas of Moreham younger ; Jwyn (John) of Carghill ; Duncan Maggadelf of Cambroun ; Malcolm of Buchanan ; Gilbert of Baldernock ; Duncan Bard ; Brice Finlayson of Nerbolg ; Thomas Fitsuacolum of Garthgeveron ; Robert Crotchet ; Richard Pessun of Stirling ; Robert Ireland ; Thomas Montgomery ; Gille Rosan the Red ; Ende Fitz Morrice (Morison) ; Gilbert of Drymmond ; Patrick, Abbot of Cambuskenneth and the convent of the same place ; Alice prioress of Manuel and the convent of that place.

Richard Brice of Stirling, Burgefs and Alderman of the said burgh ; Laurence of Dunblane ; William the Servant ; Reynold Melville ; Richard Prestre ; Robert the Taylor ; Morrice the Red ; Gilbert Teke-ter ; Adam Fitz Richard (Richardson) ; Ralph the Wright ; William the Lardiner ; and

and John of Drylaw burgesſes ; and the whole community of the foreſaid Burgh.

Maſter Henry of Stirling ; Thomas Punnodain ; Patrick Gilchriſton ; John Manuel ; Adam Gordon ; John of Bondington, Clerk ; Patrick of Blantyre ; Andrew of Ker ; Stephen the Rich ; John of Kynemore ; Richard Frazer chevalier.

Hiſtorical and Explanatory notes.

All the perſons whoſe names are here mentioned, were either poſſeſſed of lands, or held ſome public office in the ſhire ; and the liſt goes far to aſcertain the whole landed property of the ſhire at that period, though we are not able to trace out the poſſeſſions of a few of thoſe of inferior rank.

They did not all, however, take the oath at one time, nor in one place, but at different places and days during the courſe of the ſummer 1296. Some are mentioned as having taken it twice, as William le Servitour, and John de Drylowe ; the reaſon of which undoubtedly was, becauſe they

T t t

were

were both proprietors of land, or in some public office, and members of the town-council of Stirling, and were therefore obliged to swear allegiance in both capacities. Some who appear to have had an interest in this shire, are designed from possessions which they held in another, as Patrick de Blantyre.

MALCOLM CONTE de LEVENAUX. Though the ancient family of Lennox had their ordinary residence in the shire of Dumbarton, they possessed a large estate in the shire of Stirling. The parishes of Kilsyth, Campsie, and Strathblane, and almost all the lands in that shire, upon the south-side of the water of Enrick, once belonged to them, besides a considerable interest which they had upon the north of that river. This Malcolm Earl of Lennox, notwithstanding the oath of fealty he had taken to Edward, joined Wallace next year, and, in conjunction with Walter Stewart, greatly harassed the English in their retreat from the battle of Stirling.

JOHANNES

JOHANNES de CALENTYR Miles,
 ALEWYNUS de CALENTYR. Sir John
 was probably the head of the family, and
 Alwynus his son. This family of Calentyr
 or Callendar, had extensive possessions in
 the shire, and, according to the custom of
 those times, taking their surname from their
 estate, were the progenitors of all of the
 name of Callendar in Scotland. The first
 of the family whom we find on record, is
 a person termed, according to the simplicity
 of antient times, Duncan of Calentyr, whose
 son Malcolm marrying Eva, a daughter of
 the family of Lennox, received with her
 the lands of Kilsyth*. Patrick de Calen-
 tyr, who was either a son or some near re-
 lation of the above-mentioned Sir John,
 espoused the interest of Baliol, and, on that
 account, was forfeited when Robert Bruce
 came to be established on the throne. The
 estate appears to have continued some time
 in the hands of the crown; but, in the
 reign of David Bruce, William Livingstone
 of that ilk, having married Christian,
 daughter

* Douglas's peerage, p. 400.

daughter of Patrick de Calentyr, obtained a grant to him and his spouse, of the lands of Kilfyth and Callendar, as the reward of his eminent services to the Brucean family †. This was the first settlement of the family of the Livingstones in Stirlingshire, which afterwards became one of the most considerable in the kingdom, the heads of it being advanced to the highest offices, and employed in many public transactions during the reigns of the Stewarts. They were likewise possessed of so large a property, that near the half of the shire belonged to the family and its cadets, besides a considerable interest which they had in the shire of Linlithgow.

ALEXANDER de EARTH, &c. The Erths of that ilk were once a very considerable family in this shire, being proprietors of Airth, Elphinstone, Carnock, and Plean. We find Adam de Erth mentioned among the commissioners who were appointed, in 1248, to ratify an agreement with England,

† Ibid p. 411.

land, concerning the regulations called the *border-laws*. Bernard de Erth, who was probably a son of this Adam, married, before 1271, one of the three daughters and co-heiresses of Finlaus de Campsie, a cadet of the family of Lennox*. The third share of the lands of Campsie, which fell to him by this marriage, is called the lands of Craigbernard to this day. In the reign of David Bruce, Alexander Elphingstone of that ilk in Lothian, marrying Agnes Airth, a daughter of that family, got with her the lands of Airthbeg or Little Airth, where his posterity settled, and made it the chief residence of the Elphingstones, who called it after their own name†. In the reign of James I. William Airth had three daughters, co-heiresses of his estate, the eldest of whom married Bruce, a son of the ancient family of Clackmannan, who thereupon came into possession of the lands of Airth. A second married William Drymmond, of the family of Drymmond, from him sprang the Drummonds of Carnock

* Douglas's peerage, p. 400.

† Ibid, p. 243.

nock and Hathorndean. The third daughter married ~~John~~ Sommerville, a son of the Sommervilles of Carnwath, who thereby obtained the lands of Plean *, where he built a tower which is still standing. The family of Erth, like others, took their surname from their lands; but it is now quite extinct in this part of the country.

JOHAN STRIVELYN de CARS. A descendant of his, of the same name, had an only daughter, who, near the end of the reign of David Bruce, married John Menteith, a son of the old family of Menteith, who thereby came into possession of the estate †. Sir William Menteith of Carse was knighted at the baptism of Prince Henry in 1594. The Menteiths continued in possession of the estate till 1631, when it was purchased by Sir William Livingstone of Kilsyth, who, in a few years, sold it to Sir Thomas Hope, the celebrated lawyer ‡.

ROBERT

* Remarks on Ragman roll, annexed to Nisbet's Heraldry.

† Crawford's peerage, p. 330. ‡ Ibid. Remarks on Ragman roll.

ROBERT de NORMANVILLE. The Normanvilles were barons of Gargunnock; the name is now pronounced Norval ‡.

THOMAS de MOREHAM Pufnee. The family of Moreham had a considerable estate upon the banks of Carron, as appears from their donations of lands in those parts to the monastery of Newbottle. Ada de Colville, in her widowhood, made a donation to that monastery of a parcel of land in Kinnaird, as her son Adam de Moreham did of the milns of Stenhouse; and probably it was the same Adam, stiled *Dominus de Moreham*, who made a grant of the Grange of Beresford, now called *Abbots Grange* †. The name came afterwards to be contracted into More. Of that family was Sir Reginald More, chamberlain in the reign of David Bruce, who had the lands of Skaithmuir, where he built a house, called in the chartulary of Newbottle, a *Great Hall*. By marrying a daughter of Graham of Abercorn, he came into possession of that estate.

His

‡ Remarks on Ragman roll.

† Writs of Newbottle.

His son, Sir William More of Abercorn, in 1363, purchasing the lands of Bothken-nar, made a grant to the abbacy of Cam-buskenneth of an additional chalder of victual out of them, to be delivered to the servants of that abbacy, at a place near the mouth of Carron, which, from that circumstance, still goes by the name of the *Chalder*, or *Chaldron Slope* †. In the reign of Robert III. Sir William Lindsay of Byres marrying Christian More, the only daughter and heir of another Sir William More of Abercorn, came into possession of his estate ‡.

JOHAN de DRYLOW, and JWYN de CARGHILL. They were probably proprietors of places of these names, the particular situation of which we are ignorant of.

DUNCAN MAGGADELFF de CAMBROUN. What his modern surname is, we know not; but it is not improbable that he was a landholder

† Chartulary of Cambuskenneth.

‡ Crawford's State officers, p. 286.

holder in the western parts of the shire, where there are two places which still go by the name of *East and West Camerons*.

MALCOLIN de BOUGHCANIAN. He was the root of the Buchanans, and proprietor of lands, which still retain that name, near Lochlomond. The family failed in the last century, and their lands are now the property of the Duke of Montrose*.

The celebrated George Buchanan was sprung of this family; who tells us, that, in his time, it was *familia magis vetusta, quam opulenta*.

GILBERT de BUTHERNOCK. He was proprietor of the lands now called *Balder-nock*.

BRICE FINLAWSONE de NERBOLG, and THOMAS le FIS-WAUCOLUM de GARTHGEVERON. These two were no doubt proprietors of lands, though we are
U u u uncertain

* Remarks on Ragman roll.

uncertain of the particular place of their situation.

GILBERT de DRYMMOND. The Drymonds or Drymens had large possessions in the western parts of the shire, from which they took their surname. From them sprang the family of Perth, and all of the name of Drummond in Scotland.

RICHARD BRICE de STRIVELYN. He, and the eleven whose names immediately follow, appear to have been the town-council and leading men of the borough of Stirling.

MESTRE HENRY de STRIVELYN. He seems to have been a secular clergyman, and is the only person in that office, in this shire, who is mentioned in the roll, though, in other shires, mention is frequently made of such, as having taken the oath of fealty.

ANDREW del KER. He is supposed to have been one of the Kers of Kilmore, an ancient family, who possessed a considerable estate

estate in the shire. In the reign of James IV. the estate fell to two heiresses, the eldest of whom married a son of Forrester of Corstorphine, the other a son of the Stewarts of Evandale †.

RICHARD FRESER CHEVALER. The Fraasers were Barons of Touch, and for several generations Sheriffs of the shire of Stirling. William Fraiser Bishop of St Andrew's, who was one of the regency established by the Scots for managing public affairs during the minority of the infant Queen Margaret, commonly called the *Maiden of Norway*, was connected with this family, though it is difficult to ascertain the particular relation, as was also Sir Simon Fraiser, who commanded the Scottish army at the memorable battle of Roslin.

† Remarks on Ragman-roll.

Bastoni metra de illustri Bello de Bannockburn.

De planctu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo:
 Risum retrudo, dum tali themate ludo.
 Rector cœlestis, adhibens solamina mœstis,
 Verax est testis; qui prospera ferre potest his:
 Quos vincit restis, pro sindone sordida vestis.
 Ploro sub his gestis, perimit quos torrida pestis.
 Bella parata fleo, lamentans sub canapeo:
 Subque rege reo, nescio, teste Deo,
 Est regnum duplex, et utrumque cupit dominari;
 Sed neutrum supplex vult a reliquo superari.
 Dum se sic jactant cum Baccho nocte jocando,
 Scotia, te maectant, verbis vanis reprobando.
 Dormitant, stertunt, quos irrita somnia mutant,
 Fortes te putant, patriæ confinia vertunt.
 Explicat exercitus splendentia signa per arva:
 Jam sunt dispersi, nimis est virtus sua parva.
 Fulminat ad bella præco clamans dira novella:
 Fellea sicut mella, tanta durante procella.
 Nunc armatorum disponunt gesta virorum,
 Ne gens Anglorum vires enervet eorum.
 Tu fer vexillum, quo Scoti terrificentur,
 Agmina post illum belli pro more sequentur.
 Arcitenens arcus tendas, nec sis modo parcus,
 Illic transmittas hostes perimendo sagittas:
 Istac tu tela vibres, quasi fulgor, anhela
 Non te pro tela, mortem feriendo revela.
 Obviet hic illis cum fundis atque lapillis,
 Pandens vefana, faciendo concava plana;
 Et loca tu siste, tendantur ut arte balistæ,
 Examen triste populus denunciât iste.

Hastæ tolluntur, patriæ satrapes rapiuntur:
 Sic disponuntur, quod multi multa loquuntur.
 Format et informat Rex Scotus prælia dira,
 Sunt equites, pedites, O quam congressio mira!
 Clamat, Rex animat Scotorum nobiliores,
 Citat et invitat ad bella viros potiores:
 Cernit, discernit acies pro morte paratas,
 Tales mortales gentes censet superatas:
 Fatur, solatur turbas populi venientes,
 Risit, derisit Anglorum fœdera gentis,
 Fortis Dux mortis digitos ad bella docebat,
 Cervis protervis, nulla deferre jubebat.
 Lætus fit cætus, scitis rumoribus istis,
 Stabit, pugnabit, sic fiet Anglia tristis.
 Rex fortes unit, et cunctis dat sua jura,
 Quos armis munit, prædicens bella futura.
 Imbre sagittali minuatur ab inguine sanguis,
 Turbine lethali stimulet jaculator ut anguis.
 Hasta teres fodiat proceres spargendo cruorem,
 Missilibus cum pernicipibus renovando dolorem.
 Timba securi pectora cruri scindere curet,
 Tela vibrabit, sic superabit, si bene duret.
 Mucro latet, nil posse patet, pro marte valere,
 Sors præterit quibus omen erit supplenda replere,
 Machina plena malis pedibus formatur equinis,
 Concavas cum palis, ne pergant absque ruinis:
 Plebs foveas fodit, ut per eas labantur equestres,
 Et pereant si quos videant transire pedestres.
 Advena turba vocatur, Scotica gens muniatur,
 Prima falanx fociatur, regia vis comitatur.
 Scandere nullus eorum terga valebit equorum;
 Fient sic aliorum plures domini dominorum.
 Exploratores mittunt hinc inde petentes,
 Multos rumores sunt inter se referentes.

Dira

Dira dies solis pandit primordia molis,
 Angligenæ prolis, hinc exit, ab ore suo lis;
 Arrida terra gerit Strivelini prælia prima,
 Splendida turba ferit, sed tandem tendit ad ima.
 Est dolor immensus, augente dolore dolorem,
 Est furor accensus, stimulante furore furorem.
 Est clamor crescens, feriente priore priorem;
 Est valor arefcens, frustrante valore valorem:
 Est calor ardescens, urente calore calorem;
 Est gens demescens reprobante minore minorem;
 Est stupor auditus, geminante stupore stuporem;
 Est populus tritus, perdente tenore tenorem,
 Surgit rugitus, fundente cruore cruorem,
 Nunc timor est scitus, metuente timore timorem.

Atra dies lunæ pestem renovat nocituram,
 Quam vi fortunæ facit Anglis Scotia duram.
 Anglicolæ, qui cœlicolæ, splendore nitescunt,
 Magnanimi, tanquam minimi, sub nocte quiescunt.
 Expectat, spectat gens Anglica quos nece plectat
 Admotos Scotos ab iis non longe remotos.
 Plebs plangit, clangit; sed quam congressio tangit,
 Nec plangit, frangit vires quas ictibus angit.
 Magnifici medici Scotorum sunt inimici;
 Munifici medici potuit victoria dici;
 Insultus stultus praetenditur ordine cultus,
 Singultus multus erumpit ab aggere vultus.
 Descendens, frendens pedibus gens Scotica tendens,
 Defendens, vendens sua prodit dira rependens.
 Hic rapit, hic capit, hic terit, hic ferit; ecce dolores;
 Vox tonat, æs sonat, hic ruit; hic luit arcta modo res
 Hic fecat, hic necat, hic docet, hic nocet, iste fugatur,
 Hic latet, hic patet, hic premit, hic gemit, hic superatur,
 Hic fremit, hic tremit, hic pavet, hic cavet, iste ligatur,
 Hic legit, hic tegit, hic metit, hic petit, hic spoliatur:

Crescit

Crescit inedia, corpora, prædia diripiuntur,
Heu mulieres, miles et hæres inficiuntur.

Clare Comes, venerande fomes, Glovernicae cultor,
Heu moreris; sub strage peris, sic fit Deus ultor.
Trux Cliffordensis mucrone retunderis ensis,
Ictibus immensis ruis hostibus undique densis.
Miles Marfcallus Willelmus, in agmine fortis,
Scotorum callus tibi pandit vulnera mortis;
Audax Edmundæ Maley probitate virilis,
Tegens hostilis superat feritatis abunde.
Belliger insignis Tibetoyt, quasi fervidus ignis,
Ensis et lignis cadis, instat mors tua signis.
Nobilis Argenten, pugil inclite, dulcis Ægidi,
Vix scieram mentem, cum te succumbere vidi.

Quid fruar ambage, de tanta quid cano strage?
Vix poterit tragedia pandere schismata plagæ.
Nomina bellantum mea mens nescit numerare,
Quot, quæ vel quantum mors novit ibi violare.
Multi mactantur, multi jaculis terebrantur,
Multi merguntur, multi vivi capiuntur.
Broiis stringuntur, et munera multa petuntur:
Jam sunt ditati per eos et magnificati,
Qui primo strati fuerunt velut apporiat, *
Per gyrum finis loca sunt vallata rapinis;
Verba repleta minis replicantur et aucta ruinis.
Nescio quid dicam, quam non sevi meto spicam.
Linquo doli tricam, pacem cœlo juris amicam.
Qui curat plura, scribendi sit sua cura;
Est mea mens dura, rudis et vox, ima litura.

Sum Carmelita, Baston cognomine dictus,
Qui doleo vita, in tali strage relictus,
Si quid deliqui, si quæ recitanda reliqui,
Hæc addant hi qui non sunt sermones iniqui *.

* Fordun.

F I N I S.

Nimmo, William

A general History of Stirlingshire containing an Account of the ancient
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the Roman Invasion of Scotland to the Present Times ; with the Natural
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